



Daily Report

Central Eurasia

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Presidents Express Concern at Moscow Events

AU0610130893 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
5 Oct 93 p 1

["Appeal by Heads of State Regarding the Events in Moscow on 3 and 4 October"; place and date not given]

[Text] The antidemocratic forces have overstepped the boundary that has repeatedly been referred to. Blood was spilled in Moscow, and those responsible have placed themselves outside the law. No political goals can justify the adventurism of illegal armed formations that ruined the negotiating process and have led to human casualties.

Together with the people of Russia, with whom the fate of our peoples has been historically linked, we are deeply upset by what has happened and express condolences to the families of those who have perished.

We call upon all citizens of Russia to display good sense and self-possession in these critical hours. We believe that the president and government of Russia will do everything to halt the provocateurs and defend democracy.

We are ready to make all possible political efforts to avoid more human casualties.

We hope that our appeal will also be supported by other CIS states.

[signed] President N. Nazarbayev of the Republic of Kazakhstan

President I. Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan

President L. Kravchuk of Ukraine

President A. Akayev of the Kyrgyz Republic

Acting President G. Aliyev of the Azerbaijan Republic

President L. Ter-Petrosyan of the Republic of Armenia

Businessman Optimistic on Economic Union

PM0610143193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian
6 Oct 93 'Delo' Supplement p III

[ITAR-TASS interview with Sergey Yegorov, vice president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs, especially for ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI; place and date not given: "Sergey Yegorov: Easier To Overcome Slump by Common Efforts"—last two paragraphs are ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI note]

[Text] [ITAR-TASS] How do you view the idea of creating an economic union within the CIS?

[Yegorov] We have finally seen the light: Severing the economic ties between the former union republics had an extremely destructive effect on their economies. It is a pity that we have had to pay very dear to assimilate that simple idea.

[ITAR-TASS] But does the incipient reintegration not threaten to step up inflationary processes?

[Yegorov] It depends on how you look at it. If you look at it from the purely technical viewpoint—and people say that they will start dumping cash here—that is of course true. But the basis of the fight against inflation is economic recovery as such and overcoming the slump in production. That is the main thing, isn't it? Then it looks as though reintegration is a good thing. By joint efforts we will soon organize and expand production, goods will shortly appear on the market to soak up the money that will be issued. And so inflation will be overcome more rapidly.

How can this process be speeded up? I think that a great deal will depend on a correctly chosen tax policy. Loans used not to increase wages, but to modernize production, buy tools and equipment, in a word for investment, should not be taxed at such a shamelessly high rate as they are now. Otherwise we will never be able to update and expand our production.

[ITAR-TASS] There is a great deal of debate over which currency to use within the future union. What do you think about that?

[Yegorov] We must take a close look at world experience. The EC, for instance, has introduced a single international currency—the ECU—but the national currencies also operate in tandem with it. Evidently we will also have to introduce something of the sort for any common programs. Once upon a time we had the convertible ruble.

[ITAR-TASS] Do you mean, within the CEMA framework?

[Yegorov] Yes, after all, what we want to set up will be something like a council for economic mutual assistance. At any rate that seems a possible and desirable solution to me... [Yegorov ends]

From Our Files

Sergey Yefimovich Yegorov is president of the Association of Russian Banks and vice president of the Russian Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs.

ITAR-TASS Carries Press Review for 7 Oct

LD0710064593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0634
GMT 7 Oct 93

["Press Review"—ITAR-TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow October 10 [date as received] ITAR-TASS—In the past two days ITAR-TASS was unable to run Russian press reviews for reasons beyond its control.

The situation gradually returning to normal, we still do not get regular deliveries of mail in the early morning

and have to rely on our personnel's efforts. Today's review is of the newspapers we managed to purchase on the way to work.

Today's newspapers lead with comments and analysis of the events that have been taking place since last Sunday.

The newspaper SEVODNYA (TODAY) splashes the banner "Boris Yeltsin Declared the End of Soviet Power" and summarizes the changes in the wake of the coup: the mausoleum not longer under guard, temporary censorship lifted, the constitutional court chairman resigns.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA publishes the text of President Yeltsin's address on Wednesday night and adds that in Russia "red is the colour of disaster".

SEVODNYA looks at regions and finds out that "some" locals elites are in shock".

IZVESTIYA also splashes the end of "omnipotence of soviets" and says October 7 will be day of mourning. For the first time, all those fallen on all sides are called by Yeltsin "children of one Russia" in a sign of national reconciliation. In a quip, it says the president's admirer has been appointed Russia's procurator-general.

All newspapers report that the president created a single fund to pay for the clean-up after the mutiny.

NARODNAYA GAZETA's front page carries the banner "Time of Gabble Is Past". It is now time to

collaborate, not to squabble, the newspaper quotes Anatoliy Tyazhlov, head of Moscow region administration as saying.

SEVODNYA praises the military and the CNN, saying both acted highly professionally during the tragic events in Moscow.

MOSKOVSKY KOMSOMOLETS charges some outgoing and present politicians with involvement in "politico-commercial chain", pointing a finger at Rutskoy, Glazyev and Ilyumzhinov (former vice president, former foreign economic minister and president of the Kalmyk Autonomy).

IZVESTIYA says Boris Yeltsin has got his third (and last?) chance of reforming the system of power in Russia and warns that no further delays are permissible.

While political passions are running high, the economic situation in the country remains highly difficult. Inflation in September reached 121 percent. "You must work long to earn enough to afford having a baby", IZVESTIYA says.

In foreign outlook, IZVESTIYA reports that Russia regrets the Chinese nuclear tests. It reports that "Sukhumi, Abkhazia is overrun by marauders", and Svanetia, Georgia sees refugees dying of cold and hunger.

European aid to Russia is welcomed by some newspaper.

Japan 'Very Pessimistic' on Russia's Future

PM0710092393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct
93 First Edition p 4

[Sergey Agafonov report: "Tokyo Awaits Boris Yeltsin, But Does Not Consider Him a Winner"]

[Text] Tokyo—The Russian president's visit to Japan will go ahead as planned on 11-13 October. Well-informed people believe that the tone of the Tokyo talks will largely be determined by the final number of casualties in the Moscow events—the higher this tragic figure goes, the stronger will be the Japanese side's desire to distance itself from Boris Yeltsin. Nobody in Tokyo thinks of him as a winner.

The Japanese are very pessimistic about the prospects for the development of the situation in Russia and the political future of Yeltsin himself. Even at official level it is admitted that, following the bloody events in Moscow, the Russian president's reputation has suffered markedly and that he cannot avoid responsibility for the bloodshed.

Local analysts agree that, following the storming of the White House, Yeltsin's position has weakened considerably, and, from that standpoint, official Tokyo's haste in expressing full support for Yeltsin is being seriously criticized in parliament. At parliamentary hearings, for instance, the events in Moscow were compared to the suppression of the Chinese demonstrators in Tiananmen Square in 1989. There were even calls for the visit to be postponed as a mark of protest against the tank attack and for economic aid to Russia to be frozen. The opposition has been persistently urging the government to be more restrained and tougher with Yeltsin.

Business circles are very skeptical too. The ASAHI newspaper has published an article by the managing director of Nissho Iwai, a leading trading company, which notes that in the very near future there will inevitably be a growing lack of confidence in the president on the part of the people. The writer notes that the struggle for power will continue, economic difficulties will increase, and dissatisfaction in society will rise commensurately. There is a sad but logical conclusion to be drawn from these premises—that there is no chance of reviving Russo-Japanese economic relations.

The assessment of the chances of reviving the political dialogue is equally pessimistic. As THE JAPAN TIMES put it, previously, in the USSR era, Japan was dealing with too strong a partner, but now, under Yeltsin, it is dealing with too weak a partner, and in both cases any major progress in relations is impossible. Both the prime minister and the foreign minister have repeatedly hinted over the past few days that they do not expect any major success at the coming talks and will limit the diplomatic task to the simplest aim of formally maintaining dialogue and trying to achieve mutual understanding and agreement on certain common principles for contacts in the future.

The pragmatic Japanese are unanimous that this Yeltsin visit is primarily important so that the Russian side can demonstrate the stability of its regime. But Tokyo, insofar as is known, is nonetheless trying to avoid the role of a mere extra in this diplomatic show. They will discuss the territorial problem, prisoners-of-war, and other unpleasant subjects with Yeltsin.

Two or three rounds of talks between Yeltsin and Morihiro Hosokawa, head of the Japanese cabinet, are planned, as is a reception with the emperor and a meeting with business circles. There will be no speech to parliament—Moscow's request for this to be organized was not acceded to. It is planned that a joint statement will be signed along with a package of documents to lend weight to the proceedings—although it has to be admitted that none of the documents are outstanding. We have learned that the president will be taking with him on the trip more than 120 people from the security service, his wife, Yegor Gaydar, Andrey Kozyrev, the new minister for foreign economic relations, and several dozen other accompanying officials whose function is not clear.

Japanese Ambassador Interviewed

LD0610173693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1412
GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] President Boris Yeltsin of Russia will visit Japan as scheduled, from October 11 to 13, government officials confirmed Tuesday. In the run up to the visit Interfax interviewed Japan's Ambassador Sumio Edamura.

IF [INTERFAX]: What does Japan expect from the upcoming official visit by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to Tokyo?

Edamura: Before all, I would call your attention to President Yeltsin's earlier statement. He said that for his country Japan is "a potential partner and ally sharing common values." He said so in a message addressed to the then prime minister of Japan. For this reason I would like to hope that our countries will make a large step towards the common goal of establishing partnership relations. I also expect the upcoming visit to become a starting point on the road towards a speedy signing of a peace treaty with the territorial issue resolved on the basis of law and justice, as the two sides have already agreed. I also hope that the visit might open up large vistas in the spheres of economy, trade, science and technology, culture, in every field as well as politics.

Quite a few people have been laying the groundwork for this visit for two years. The visit has been thoroughly prepared.

IF: Along what lines, Tokyo thinks, should the territorial issue be discussed at the Russo-Japanese summit? Can it be resolved quickly?

Edamura: The territorial issue between Russia and Japan is by no means new. It has existed since World War II. During perestroika in the former USSR and as

long as a new democratic Russia exists a significant understanding has been reached between our countries on this issue.

On this basis we should work for further progress in resolving the issue, abiding by the principles of law and justice on which the two sides have agreed.

In effect, if we work out a sound approach to this issue, and I hope we will, then mutual trust will be built between the leaders of our country and, ultimately, between the peoples of Russia and Japan. In this way the territorial issue could be resolved quickly.

If the territorial issue is resolved, then mutual trust and friendly relations between Russia and Japan will develop fast and true partnership relations will be established soon.

IF: Does the Japanese government link the development of economic relations with Russia to resolution of the territorial issue? How important is economic cooperation with Russia for Japan?

Edamura: A resolution of the territorial dispute would naturally create a favorable environment for development of economic relations between the two countries but it would be wrong to say that Russo-Japanese economic contacts are "prisoners" of the territorial issue.

The biggest obstacle to economic cooperation is, in my view, the instability which is an inherent feature of the transition from planned to market economy.

On the other hand, economy and politics are closely intertwined in every country. I think we should look at what is happening in real life. The government of Japan has been making a significant contribution to support of President Yeltsin's efforts in his reform policies.

The Japanese government is encouraging, as far as it can, the economic cooperation at the private level, in particular by insuring private trade deals and investments. This is done to alleviate the uncertainty which now exists in the Russian economy.

I would also like to emphasize that our governments have worked out an understanding on the approach to resolving the existing problems through the so-called "extended balance" so that economic ties and resolution of the territorial issue should develop in parallel and make a positive impact on each other. Japan wants Russia to succeed in introduction of a market economy because economic cooperation with Russia could be very promising for Japan.

Japan To Supply Kuril Islands With Oil

PM0610154193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
6 Oct 93 First Edition p 4

[Sergey Agafonov report: "Japanese Fuel Oil Will Warm the South Kurils"]

[Text] Tokyo—IZVESTIYA has already reported that, despite their patriotism and faith in market restructuring, Russian citizens living on the Kuril Islands were unable to convert into real fuel the official promises made by Prime Minister Chernomyrdin and other high-ranking officials. (See issue No. 180).

This annoying failure sparked off a whole chain of events—without fuel, there was no electricity or heating on the islands, and this made the citizens appeal for assistance to President Clinton and the Japanese authorities.

The Japanese were the first to answer—the answer was in the affirmative, and Japanese fuel oil will soon warm the particularly impoverished Iturup. According to available reports, this decision has been ratified by the government. The money for the fuel and its transportation will be taken from a package of 100 million [currency unspecified], which Tokyo allocated for urgent humanitarian aid to CIS countries. The volume of the supplies is as yet unknown, but all the indications are that it will exceed 1,000 tonnes of fuel oil. This figure has not been plucked out of thin air: That was the quantity of Japanese fuel that arrived in the Kurils in the previous "shipment." That was in June, after the islands of Kunashir and Shikotan, which had been on power starvation rations, asked Tokyo for urgent aid since it was useless asking Moscow.

The Japanese are "feeding up" the Kurils, which they consider to be their own, on a regular basis—in the past 12-18 months, almost \$2 million of Japanese humanitarian aid in various forms has gone to the four Russian islands. Moscow responded to this "challenge" by sending Prime Minister Chernomyrdin on a brief trip to the Kurils; he stated that these are Russian islands and our land. After that, the fuel oil ran out and the lights went out on "our land." Today it is obvious that the lights will soon come on thanks to Japanese fuel oil. Consequently, it is now up to the Russian side to make the next move.

Regret Expressed Over PRC Nuclear Test

PM0710083393 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
7 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Gennadiy Charodeyev report: "Moscow Deplores Nuclear Testing in China"]

[Text] The Russian leadership and its various competent organizations express profound regret in connection with the powerful underground nuclear explosion carried out by China 5 October, after a year's interruption.

In a conversation with your IZVESTIYA correspondent, a Russian Ministry of Defense spokesman said that Moscow is particularly concerned because the nuclear explosion was carried out at a time when Russia, the United States, and France are observing a moratorium, and when intensive preparations are under way for the start of international talks on the conclusion of a treaty on a universal ban on such tests. Russian military

specialists are worried that the PRC's actions may bring about a wave of renewed nuclear testing by other nuclear powers. "This must not be allowed to happen," the Ministry of Defense believes. According to the military, China must declare a moratorium on nuclear explosions.

The Ministry of Atomic Energy noted that the question of China's "behavior" must be discussed at UN level as quickly as possible, and everything must be done to convince the Chinese side that it should not resume nuclear testing in the future. Russian nuclear scientists are calling on other nuclear powers not to violate the moratorium and not to resume their own testing.

Grigoriy Karasin, director of the Russian Foreign Ministry Information and Press Department, noted that the actions of the Chinese side cannot fail to have a negative effect both on the atmosphere in which the whole negotiating process on a complete ban on nuclear testing is being conducted, and on the preparations for the upcoming conference on extending the Treaty on the Nonproliferation of Nuclear Weapons.

According to its spokesman, the Foreign Ministry is studying the prevailing situation. G. Karasin reported that President Boris Yeltsin "will adopt a decision on this question, taking all factors into account, including the response of other nuclear powers."

And this response came immediately from abroad. The White House gave the U.S. Department of Energy instructions to start preparing for a possible routine explosion at the test range in the state of Nevada by way of a reciprocal measure. News agencies report that President Bill Clinton will adopt a decision on the expediency of resuming the U.S. nuclear testing program, guided by the "vital interests of U.S. national security."

The governments of Japan, Sweden, France, the Netherlands, Australia, and other countries have expressed resolute protests to China.

Space Agency Head on Project With U.S.

LD0710092993 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 2125 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Report by correspondent Sergey Slipchenko, including recorded remarks by Yuriy Koptev, head of the Russian Space Agency, to unidentified correspondent; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Slipchenko] This is how the U.S. international space station should have looked. However, it is already clear now that it will be constructed on the basis of a Russian docking unit, which means it will look quite different. [video shows model of U.S. space station]

Today, Yuriy Koptev and Daniel Goldin, Russian Space Agency and NASA directors, told journalists how they see cooperation working between Russia and the United States. There is, however, one detail:

[Unidentified correspondent] Since the document was signed by Chernomyrdin and Goldin, there has been a feeling in industrial, scientific, and administrative circles in Russia that Soviet [as heard] cosmonauts will live according to American laws and that any action on our part will be agreed with the Americans.

[Koptev] Yes, there are indeed certain rules. If we embark on an international project, then certainly we will accept the rules that exist within the framework of the project and which have been drawn up by all the participants involved, because it is a matter of fairly large investment and of a very large-scale project that is calculated to take several decades, and without generally acceptable rules, such a project cannot be undertaken. Certainly there is nothing special about this. There is an alternative—namely, not to join projects but to continue undertaking one's own national projects. As for commercial launches, strict regulations have indeed been introduced, but these regulations have made it possible in principle for Russia to enter this market and, like it or not, get the opportunity to earn \$700 million. [video shows Koptev and Goldin meeting journalists]

NASA Chief on Meetings

LD0610190993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1746 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Veronika Romanenkova]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—"Very considerable progress" has been made at the U.S.-Russian negotiations on the project "Mir-Shuttle", according to NASA Director Daniel Goldin. Goldin and Director of the Russian Space Agency Yuriy Koptev informed reporters on Wednesday about the results of their meeting in Moscow on October 3-6.

The two sides managed to achieve full understanding as regards the first stage of the programme, which covers the period from 1994-1997 and provides for flights by Russian cosmonauts and American astronauts on board the "Mir" orbital station and the "Space-Shuttle" spaceship, as well as joint research, Koptev told reporters. The second and third stages, which he described as "a tangle of political, economic and scientific problems", are to be more complicated. The point at issue is the creation of an international orbital complex and carrying out research aboard it. Nevertheless, certain progress has been made in this field as well, the Russian space agency's director reported, which gives every ground to hope that the intergovernmental U.S.-Russian agreements will be implemented to time.

Answering a question from an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Koptev said the sides were now negotiating possible installation of Russian and U.S.-made equipment at the already existing block of stations "Mir-2". In future, this unit may become an international station in case the project is joined by the European Space Agency.

Canada and Japan. The present meeting paid much attention to substantiate the viability and effectiveness of this proposal.

U.S. Secretary of State To Visit 20-27 Oct

LD0610211293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 2052 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington October 6 TASS—Secretary of State Warren Christopher will go to Moscow in two weeks to show support for democracy in Russia and to make first-hand assessment of how Russia is dispersing the U.S. assistance, Michael McCurry, the State Department spokesman said on Wednesday.

He will leave on October 20 and return home on October 27.

Congress has backed President Yeltsin with aid and Christopher wants "to look at the effect of that support", McCurry noted.

CNN reported that the trip will be expectedly aimed at preparations for the US-Russian summit in January.

The secretary plans to stop in Moscow early in the trip. He is expected then to go to Ukraine, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Czechia [Czech Republic] and possibly Bulgaria.

Yeltsin Reassures Mitterrand on Elections

LD0610181593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1730 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Russian President Boris Yeltsin thanked his French counterpart, Francois Mitterrand, for support and assured him on Wednesday that parliamentary elections would be held as scheduled in Russia.

"The world public will have a possibility to see that these would be free and democratic elections", Yeltsin's press service quoted him as telling Mitterrand during a telephone conversation.

The French president telephoned Yeltsin and expressed full support to his actions aimed at restoring lawfulness and order in Moscow, according to the press service.

Mitterrand expressed conviction that the situation in Russia would soon stabilise and democratic reforms would continue.

Presidential Council Member on NATO Ties

AU0610174993 Bratislava *NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak* 4 Oct 93 pp 1,3

[Interview with Sergey Karaganov, member of the Presidential Council and deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences European Institute, by Blazej

Panik; place and date not given: "Russia Will Not Acquiesce to Its Isolation From Europe"]

[Text] Moscow/Bratislava—The letter addressed by Russian President Boris Yeltsin to leading representatives of the Western powers concerning Russia's attitude toward the plans to expand NATO has attracted justifiable attention. The *NARODNA OBRODA* editorial office asked Sergey Karaganov, a member of the Presidential Council and deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences European Institute, for an interview.

[Panik] In your article published in the 38th issue of the weekly *MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI* entitled "NATO's Expansion Will Lead To Russia's Isolation," you refer in this context to only three states—Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. Why did you not mention Slovakia as the fourth member of the Visegrad Group?

[Karaganov] Because the majority of my colleagues from NATO, with whom I have spoken and with whom I am in contact, also do not mention Slovakia.

[Panik] Could you be more specific?

[Karaganov] No, I cannot. I know that plans have been drawn up in NATO for the admission of the aforementioned three states, while there are certain doubts with regard to Slovakia.

[Panik] In your opinion, how realistic is the incorporation of these three states into NATO?

[Karaganov] The probability is relatively high, very high.

[Panik] Under what circumstances could this happen?

[Karaganov] There are several possibilities. First, these states are worried about instability in the East, which is generally taken to mean developments in Russia. Second—and this is quite obvious—another potentially unstable element is Ukraine, with which all three states, to a lesser or greater extent, share a common border, although, it is true to say that the Czech Republic does so "via" Slovakia. Apart from this, these countries want to come as close as possible to West Europe, which is also understandable. However, I think the main reason is not the demands of the East Europeans, but the interests of some West Europeans. At the moment, West Europe does not want to seriously help East Europe, let alone say more about these states' specific entry into the EC. Instead of this, it is offering them—from its point of view—a cheaper option; I would say it is buying the East Europeans cheaply. As far as understanding the motives of the West Europeans is concerned, their fears about the renewal of a semi-imperial Russia obviously play a role here and, therefore, they want to establish a new cordon sanitaire around it. However, this is possibly one of the least important reasons behind the plans to expand NATO. The fact that some people within the North Atlantic alliance think NATO will not survive if it is not expanded is much more important. I repeat, this explicitly internal bureaucratic motive is probably the main reason behind the plans to expand NATO.

[Panik] You said that the aforementioned three countries are worried about instability in the East. Does this not also, perhaps, concern Slovakia?

[Karaganov] Of course, it does. It even concerns Slovakia more than the Czech Republic. But let me emphasize that, as far as potential NATO members are concerned, Slovakia is mentioned least of all in the West.

[Panik] Not so long ago, Sergey Stepashin, the former chairman of the Supreme Soviet Security Committee and current deputy security minister, said in connection with these plans that, if the West hurries this issue, Russia may—apparently—even reassess its stance regarding the treaty on reducing conventional weapons in Europe....

[Karaganov] This treaty—or to be more accurate—its fulfillment, will, in my opinion, have to be revised somehow in connection with the new situation. However, it is quite obvious that the expansion of NATO will not be viewed as a friendly step by the absolute majority of the political elite in Russia. Although I concede that such a response does not have to be apropos.

[Panik] What would that mean for Russia? How would Moscow react?

[Karaganov] The reform and democratic wings in the Russian elite would suffer great damage by the expansion of NATO. And this does not only concern that part of it whose philosophy clings to traditionalist positions. Such a decision would be perceived in Moscow as a step directed against Russia—although I am very well aware that each country has the inalienable right to enter into any alliance it chooses and that Russia cannot do anything about this. However, Russia can ask the West to also take into consideration its interests.

[Panik] What is Russia's concept for European policy following the collapse of the bipolar world and the bloc security system?

[Karaganov] There is no working concept. However, this does not mean there are no priorities. First of all, we proceed from the fact that Russia is part of Europe and that it has to live with it—although we understand very well that Russia cannot become part of all European organizations and institutions, especially the EC, in the foreseeable future. Now, we are striving to ensure that Europe is open to Russia when it overcomes its crisis and begins to enjoy economic success. The majority of people in Russia are opposed to the expansion of the existing military-political blocs, not because they—for example, NATO—are directed against us or because they represent a military threat, but simply because this would also mothball the status quo, which would be politically and psychologically disadvantageous for Russia. I am not exaggerating at all if I say that such a situation would, in the final analysis, turn Russia into a revisionist power even if it were to have the most democratic of governments. Therefore, we are interested in Europe's multipolarity and in the existence on the old continent of several

organizations like NATO and the EC, including partly mutually complementary and partly rival organizations.

[Panik] Does this mean that preserving NATO is in Moscow's interests?

[Karaganov] Certainly. Because it gives us more opportunities for cooperation, in whose maximum development Russia is interested.

[Panik] And what about relations with the EC?

[Karaganov] These are not very good at the moment.

[Panik] What about prospects for the future?

[Karaganov] We are trying to guarantee maximum contact with the European Community market. Membership in the EC is not realistic at the moment, although it could be in 20, 30, or 40 years time. For the time being, Russia will try to join the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), that is, place ourselves—in relation to the expanded EC—on approximately the same level as the EFTA countries.

[Panik] Let us return to NATO. Will Moscow try to join this organization?

[Karaganov] There are very strong feelings in Russia, already expressed officially, in favor of such a course of action. However, a condition is that NATO becomes the basis for a collective European security system. At the same time, Moscow is not interested in other states joining NATO—thus psychologically and politically isolating and discriminating against Russia.

[Panik] What are Russia's other European policy priorities?

[Karaganov] We are also interested in increasing the role of the CSCE, although we realize that the opportunities for this institution are limited. Apart from this, our concept also proceeds from the fact that Russia is aware that the West will only partly help it to settle the conflicts on the territory of the former USSR. This task, therefore, will unavoidably fall to Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States in which Moscow will play the leading role. Russia is also interested, however, in ensuring that its efforts for peace become an element of pan-European security policy, that this endeavor is under Europe's supervision, and that Russia has a mandate both from the United Nations and the CSCE in this regard. In other words, that this effort to support peace is both legitimized and supervised—in the interest of ensuring that sensible bounds are not exceeded.

[Panik] Moscow constantly refers to the pan-European security system, but no such reliable mechanism exists at the moment.

[Karaganov] This is true. Unfortunately, at the moment, we are witnessing the weakening of virtually all European institutions. This does not only concern the CSCE, but also—to a certain extent—the EC, because the foreign policy options of this community are now also fewer

than previously thought. NATO's options are also limited. That is, the pan-European institutions are being sort of downgraded at the moment and this may continue. This is a very alarming process and, therefore, one of the priority tasks of European policy under the current conditions is to halt and "break through" this process.

[Panik] The interests of Germany and Russia have always clashed in Central Europe. This region again finds itself in a kind of vacuum from the security point of view. How do you view its fate in this context? What are Moscow's priorities in this regard?

[Karaganov] It is in Russia's most vital interest to have friendly relations with its neighbors. It is now better and better understood in Russia that the previous policy of "friendly contempt" in relation to the states of Central and East Europe was obviously a mistake. That is, Moscow understands that it must cooperate as actively as possible with these states, especially in the economic, social, and cultural spheres.

[Panik] Do you personally belong to the school of military-strategic analysts that gives priority to the doctrine of rapprochement with NATO, that is, with the West, or do you support the doctrine oriented toward the south, toward the Asia-Pacific Ocean region?

[Karaganov] To the first school.

[Panik] In this regard, what is the "deployment of forces" in Moscow?

[Karaganov] This school is already predominant for the simple reason that Russia has no real alternative. Naturally, we will have to devote a great deal of military-political effort to ensuring that we do not allow the instability in the south to intensify—but we do not have serious potential allies there. Russia is condemned to being in Europe. And, if it is ejected from there, it will be forced to return by whatever means.

[Panik] What does "by whatever means" mean?

[Karaganov] If the status quo in Europe becomes unsuitable for us, we will be forced to somehow politically undermine and weaken it so that we do not acquiesce to our isolation from Europe.

Impact of Events on NATO Enlargement Viewed

MK0610123093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI in Russian No. 41, 10 Oct 93 (signed to press 5 Oct) p A9

[Aleksey Pushkov, MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI deputy chief editor, article under the "In the World" rubric: "Changes Possible on the 'Western Front'"]

[Text] The armed coup attempt and its bloody denouement in Moscow are not going to remain without international repercussions for Russia. Above all, a profound correction by the West of its attitude toward Russia—not in its favor, at that—is not ruled out.

This guess may look paradoxical against the backdrop of complete support for Yeltsin by all politicians and governments of the world's leading countries. This support is, incidentally, quite natural. Whereas Yeltsin's government until recently only scared the West from time to time with the threat of the red-brown danger, hoping to get out of it as many financial concessions and as much economic aid as possible, now the warnings have gotten quite graphic proof. Here is yet another irony of history: The maddened leaders of the mad supporters of the former parliament, who made it their goal to bring down Yeltsin, have once again helped him with their actions, their image, and their extremism.

The question, however, is in which direction the West is going to go in revising its approaches. Because an in-depth analysis, to be conducted everywhere from Washington to Tokyo, will surely not be as unambiguous as today's official stance of Western countries.

First of all, the degree of Yeltsin's and his government's preparedness for the armed uprising will undoubtedly be assessed "on its own merits." American analysts who were commenting throughout the night on the developments in Moscow on the Voice of America, could not—however they tried—find the answer to the reasons for, to put it mildly, the lack of concern by the Russian Government, which clearly failed to forestall the mutineers' preemptive blow. The obvious fact that the authorities lost their grip on the situation for several hours was also noted by U.S. President Clinton.

Is not this very lack of concern also behind Yeltsin's intention to leave Moscow and head for Tokyo less than one week after the Moscow standoff, when shots are only just being silenced—God willing—in the capital? Though one would think that the Japanese would appreciate the reasons for postponing this ill-fated visit much better than last time.

This patent inability to control the crisis and monitor its development has hardly boosted the West's rating of Yeltsin himself or his government. Western experts agree that, despite the successful suppression of the revolt, Yeltsin faces extremely complex tasks in overcoming the crisis as well as great difficulties in relations with the regions. Not everyone is indeed sure that he will be able to manage them. For this reason, many in the United States are expressing concern that the White House is making the same mistake it made in Gorbachev's case, as it again puts all its eggs in one basket—Yeltsin's basket—instead of starting to get ready for "alternative variants."

Russia as such may also be the loser because of the events in Moscow. Until recently, the opinion has prevailed in the West as a whole that Russia, despite everything, is after all capable of peacefully "breaking through" to political stability and democracy. It is, however, not ruled out that from now on people there

will pay heed to skeptics who long ago used to persistently speak about the threat of Russia's sinking into chaos.

These politicians and experts predict for Russia growing general instability, disintegration, and dictatorship and persistently warn that the crisis in Russia is far from over and that it is impossible to calculate the reaction by the army and the forces of order to its further development. Those advocating this approach are urging—not without reason, as is now obvious—that the West build up its security in the event of dramatic and potentially globally dangerous changes in Russia.

On the one hand, the crushing of the Moscow rebellion, which will lead to a sharp weakening—at least in the predictable future—of the national-communist forces, must somewhat calm the West. On the other hand, it would prefer in these conditions to take additional measures, just in case, to shut itself off from our unpredictable country.

Therefore, I would venture to guess that the question of expanding NATO by admitting the countries of Eastern Europe has now been predetermined—despite the fact that Boris Yeltsin, who actually gave the go-ahead during his visit to Poland in August, recently tried to backpedal on this issue. At the end of last week he sent a message to the leaders of a number of NATO countries voicing his concern over the possible admission of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic into the bloc.

According to available reports, however, Yeltsin's message drew a rather restrained reaction from the leading circles of the North American bloc. It is very probable that the men in Brussels, Bonn, the Hague, and other NATO capitals who were contemplating the expansion of NATO finally made their decision precisely on the

night of 3-4 October 1993. Warsaw, Prague, and Budapest have received new—and very weighty—arguments to justify their desire to join NATO, while NATO itself has received additional grounds for admitting them.

The inability of those who govern Russia to avoid head-on collisions and ensure at least relative stability in such a huge and still highly armed country is a very serious argument in favor of NATO's expansion. And Yeltsin's exhortations will hardly be more convincing than those witnessed by the whole world on that memorable night in Moscow.

Northwestern Border Guards Thwart Smuggling

PM0610150393 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Senior Lieutenant Anton Lyashko: "Green Caps' Have 'Golden' Fall"]

[Text] St. Petersburg—The first month of fall has been truly "golden" for the servicemen of the Northwestern Border District. They prevented the smuggling out of Russia of contraband worth a total of 158,765,000 rubles [R]. Around 40 tonnes of nonferrous metals, over 5 tonnes of fuels and lubricants, hard currency worth over R10 million, consumer goods worth R26.432 million, and also 8 firearms were detained.

Three-fourths of the detained contraband is accounted for by the section of the Russian Federation state border with the Baltic countries. Despite the lack of everyday facilities, undermanning, and constant pressure from organized criminal groupings, the Russian border guards can be said to be fulfilling their tasks.

Yeltsin Actions**Yeltsin Addresses Nation; Blames Communists, Fascists, Soviets***CM0610141493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Address to the nation by President Yeltsin in Moscow—live]

[Text] Esteemed citizens of Russia! On 3 and 4 October Russia experienced an extremely great tragedy. Gangs of murderers and thugs poured onto the streets of our capital. They smashed up state institutions and mistreated people whom they took hostage. They seized city buses and trucks. Many weapons, much ammunition, and many military vehicles ended up in the hands of thugs. The lives of peaceful city dwellers were placed in deadly peril.

What happened in Moscow last Sunday was not some kind of spontaneous demonstration. All this has a different name—an armed mutiny, planned and prepared by the leaders of the former Supreme Soviet, the former vice president, and the leaders of a number of parties and organizations.

Among these were the National Salvation Front, and first and foremost Trudovaya Rossiya [Working Russia] which is a part of it, a number of communist parties and groups, the fascist Russian National Unity, and others. Fascists joined ranks with communists and the swastika with the hammer and sickle in this dark deed.

Among the organizers of and active participants in this mutiny were certain former people's deputies who for a long time had been carrying out what were in point of fact criminal activities. They used their immunity as deputies as a cover to incite violence; organize mass, bloody disturbances; and unleash a civil war.

Their purpose was to establish a bloody communist-fascist dictatorship in Russia. It is clear today that this had been prepared over the course of many months.

A great deal is currently being said about the slowness, the hesitation, the confusion of the authorities. I have to say bluntly—not everyone had sufficient self-possession, not everyone had the strength and nerve to withstand the gigantic tension at the most critical moment.

The bloody events of that night forced us to bring regular army units into Moscow. A grave decision was made to storm the White House building, which had turned into a citadel of terrorism with a huge number of weapons and huge amount of ammunition, and had become the most dangerous factor in unleashing civil war in Russia.

It was precisely from the White House that the militants' actions were being coordinated, and it was precisely there that illegal armed detachments were being set up. It

was precisely from the White House that the orders came: To the Mayor's office! To Ostankino! To the Kremlin!

But the White House has also become a symbol of perfidy and treachery. All preparations for the rebellion were conducted under the cover of talks. The noble intentions of the Russian Orthodox Church to help resolve the crisis were trampled underfoot.

There is something else I have to say. There would have been considerably fewer victims if the militants and snipers holed up in the House of Soviets had not fired directly at civilians and if the order to surrender weapons had been accepted when resistance became pointless.

The flame of civil war in Russia has been extinguished. But one's heart is heavy because an enormous price had to be paid to do this. I am grieved that amid the ashes people have already started creating a commotion for the sake of petty political advantage, for the sake of saving the reputations of those who covered themselves with shame that night. May God be their judge!

We should learn most serious lessons so that this does not happen again.

Why did we resign ourselves to the fact that organizations which not only incited violence but also organized it were legal in Russia? They were never rebuffed either by the Procuracy, or by the law enforcement bodies.

Society had almost resigned itself to the fact that the Supreme Soviet and the congress became their main protectors. As a result, their escapades became increasingly brazen and sinister.

Why is it that any action, even a timid action strengthening law and order, and any measure with elements of toughness met a cool attitude, to put it mildly, on the part of many journalists, people who consider themselves democrats?

Even when for the sake of Muscovites' safety we were forced to create a cordon around the White House, which was crammed with lethal weaponry, from all sides there showered down accusations of cruelty and heartlessness, of a revival of authoritarianism.

The main lesson is that democracy must be reliably defended. The state must use force if there arises a threat of violence or threat to citizens' lives and safety. Without that there is no democracy.

Everyone who took up arms and participated in the disorders will be punished with all the severity of the law. All purveyors of fascist-communist ideas, who incited people to rebel, will also be made answerable in accordance with the law. There will be no more leniency to communist-fascism in Russia.

The cause of the tragic events in Moscow lay in the fact that too many people here wanted to prolong the pernicious dyarchy destroying Russia.

Literally immediately after the abolition of the Supreme Soviet and the setting of parliamentary elections, a blanket campaign to win over the regions was unleashed. They started to create a new enemy to the executive in the form of the so-called council of component parts of the federation. It is difficult to say which played the greater part here—political ineptitude and naivety or cold calculation. Indeed each step in this direction was a blow against the state, against unity and the integrity of Russia.

With each of these steps the aggression and effrontery of those who had chosen the path of violence and arbitrary rule mounted.

I consider that the Constitutional Court is to blame to a large extent for the events. This body long ago violated the crucial principle that the Constitutional Court is independent from the political environment.

Long ago it turned into the prosecutor of the executive and the acolyte of the lawmakers.

Incidentally, the Courts appeared not to notice that the Russian Constitution was being violated by numerous amendments. It ignored the crying contradictions in the Constitution, intentionally exacerbated by the Congress.

There is something special to be said about the Soviets.

Each of them has deputies who support reforms, but regardless of this, the stance of most of them meant in fact, after 21 September, that any actions of the former Supreme Soviet were justified per se. Moreover, it [the Supreme Soviet] was being provoked and pushed toward the violence, and all kinds of hints of support were being made. I have no doubt that, should the insurgents have taken the upper hand, the majority of Soviets would have come out in their support.

I state with all responsibility that the majority of the bodies of soviet power bear direct responsibility for the extreme exacerbation of the situation in Moscow. The system of the soviets has shown complete disregard for the security of the state and its citizens and has itself brought its own political destiny to an end.

I believe that the soviets, who took up irreconcilable positions, must not now adapt themselves to the new situation but take an honorable and courageous decision on self-dissolution and leave peacefully, like human beings, without further shocks and scandals. Life itself demands this.

Administrations of krays and oblasts have been given instructions to draw up a list of measures as soon as possible for social guarantees for deputies.

At the same time it is necessary to devise as soon as possible a mechanism for transforming the soviets into normal bodies of representative power.

The Public Chamber [Obshchestvennaya Palata], the Committee for Legislative Proposals, and the Committee on Human Rights could have their say here—everyone who has an interest in strengthening Russian statehood. Of course, elections to new representative bodies of power in the localities have to be held in December, without delay.

Esteemed fellow citizens!

Having lived through the terrible days and nights, we can nevertheless be confident that it has not proved possible to unleash civil war in Russia. The insurgents in our capital remained outsiders. The people of Moscow despise and curse them.

They failed to split the country, to split the army, and the state.

However, the problems that the revolt laid bare are extremely serious ones.

We need a normal democratic Constitution as much as we need air. We need a united Russia. Playing at regional isolation is counter to the interests and will of the majority of the country's population. We need a complete reform of the army and the security bodies.

We need to continue unswervingly the economic transformations, supporting all of the government's efforts directed toward this end.

To restore order and stability and cleanse Moscow of fighters once and for all, a state of emergency has been introduced in the capital for one week. Depending on the situation, this time-span can be reduced or slightly increased.

Most Muscovites and citizens of Russia realize the need for this harsh measure and support it.

At the same time, several tough measures envisaged under the Law on the State of Emergency are unnecessary in present circumstances. Instructions to lift the precautionary censorship of the mass media have already been issued.

However, I would like to give the following warning. If anybody thinks that the situation has completely returned to normal, they are making a big mistake. Passions have not subsided. Careless and irresponsible words could inflame them again. I appeal to journalists to display a sense of civic duty.

Quite a few heavy responsibilities lie on the shoulders of servicemen, law enforcement personnel, and firemen at this time. They are working in an extremely tight regime, risking their lives, and bearing all the weight of the state of emergency.

My heartfelt gratitude to you for removing the danger of pogroms and anarchy in Moscow, for stopping raging banditism, and averting an extremely dangerous political escapade.

During these days the workload of the medical staff has increased manifold. You are saving lives, helping many people, and taking upon yourselves part of their suffering and pain. I am grateful to you, because in difficult conditions, even in the face of bullets, you remained faithful to the Hippocratic oath.

One of the main attacks of the rebels was on mass information media.

I thank all those who, at the most dramatic moments of the October mutiny, continued to broadcast on the television and radio. I thank the journalists who worked in dangerous areas of Moscow. The blood of journalists was spilled in this tragedy.

I bow before the courage of the staff of the Ostankino television center who, at the price of their lives, upheld their right to freedom of information.

I would like to express words of gratitude to Muscovites for their support for the president and the government. Over the past few days our city has become the hottest spot in Russia. But for your stand, but for those who came to the city center that night, it cannot be ruled out that the price that one would have had to pay to defend freedom and democracy would have been immeasurably higher.

Russia and the whole world today expresses respect for your courage, your dignity and your choice.

Esteemed citizens of Russia!

The worst is over, but to ensure that peace and calm in our country are not disrupted, we all need to strengthen our state and strengthen democracy. Elections to the Federal Assembly will be held on 12 December and, I think, to new representative bodies in the localities.

All politicians, parties and movements that have not discredited themselves by direct participation in the insurrection, are guaranteed equal chances.

Over the past few days we have seen for ourselves how great the price of political indifference can be. Such indifference is no answer, is no guarantee of personal safety. How can anyone sleep peacefully when their home is set on fire?

I appeal to you, esteemed compatriots, to actively participate in the elections and to elect decent, competent, intelligent, and cultured people—those who are not capable of betrayal.

Dear compatriots!

We have left behind the nightmare of those black days. One should not say that there were certain winners or

certain losers. Today these words are misplaced, they are blasphemous. We have all been burned by the deadly breath of fratricide.

People, our compatriots, were killed. One cannot bring them back. Pain and suffering have entered many families.

However different their convictions, they were all children of Russia. This is our common tragedy, our common sorrow—the great sorrow.

Let us remember this madness, so that it will never be allowed to repeat itself.

Yeltsin Issues Decrees on White House, Moscow Soviet, Elections

Cabinet To Move Into White House

PM0710094193 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 1

[Presidential Edict No. 1586 "On the Official Residence of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation" signed by B. Yeltsin and dated Moscow, the Kremlin, 5 October]

[Text] Edict of the President of the Russian Federation

On the Official Residence of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation

For the purpose of ensuring the effective activity of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation, I decree:

1. That the buildings at 2, Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment and 2, Rochdelskaya Street in the city of Moscow be deemed the official residence of the Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation.

2. That the Russian Federation State Committee for the Management of State Property and the Main Social-Production Administration of the Russian Federation President's Administration shall accept the aforementioned buildings within two weeks in accordance with Russian Federation president's edict no. 1433 "On the Property of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet" of 23 September 1993.

3. That between October 1993 and March 1994 the government of Moscow shall carry out the necessary repair work to the buildings at 2, Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment and 2, Rochdelskaya Street by means of the construction organizations of the Moscow government's Department of Construction.

Responsibility for monitoring the fulfillment of the repair work shall be entrusted to V.I. Resin, first deputy premier of the Moscow government.

4. The Council of Ministers-Government of the Russian Federation shall resolve questions of financing the measures envisaged by the present edict.

[Signed] B. Yeltsin, president of the Russian Federation
[Dated] Moscow, the Kremlin, 5 October 1993
Edict No. 1586

Moscow Soviet Abolished

*LD0710113293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in
Russian 1100 GMT 7 Oct 93*

[Text] President Yeltsin of Russia today issued decrees connected with the consequences of the armed insurrection in Moscow. They include one terminating the powers of the Moscow Soviet and district Soviets of People's Deputies in the city, and others extending material assistance to the families of the victims and initiating an investigation into the armed insurrection. The details will be published in the newspapers.

Duma Election Rules Amended

*LD0710090493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 0818 GMT 7 Oct 93*

[Text] Moscow, 7 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the Russian president has reported that President Boris Yeltsin's decree "On the Confirmation of the Edited Version of the Ordinance on the Elections of Deputies to the State Duma in 1993 and on the Introduction of Changes and Supplements to the Ordinance on the Federal Authorities During the Period of Transition" was today promulgated for publication.

The decree, says the report, has been signed on the basis of the results of the referendum held on 25 April 1993, account having been taken of the observations and proposals put forward by a number of the constituent parts of the federation and of the debate at a sitting of the Chamber of Commons of the Constitutional Conference.

In accordance with the document, which has been signed, the number of State Duma deputies is being increased from 400 to 450. The decree confirms the amended ordinance on the federal authorities during the period of transition. The ordinance on the elections of the State Duma deputies in 1993 in its edited version has also been confirmed.

The ordinance on the elections of deputies to the State Duma in 1993 becomes valid as of the date of promulgation.

Statute on Elections Detailed

*LD0610203793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943
GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Text] Interfax is in possession of a copy of the Yeltsin-approved statute on elections to the country's new 450-seat parliament and the State Duma on December 12.

Apart from the mentally ill and prisoners, anyone of 21 years of age is allowed to run for parliament.

Half of the deputies are to be elected on the first-past-the-poll principle from single mandate constituencies and

the other half on a proportional representation from federal constituencies covering the whole of Russia.

The lists of candidates are to be put forward by electoral associations including formally registered parties or movements or an alliance of such public groups created for time period of the election.

Both individuals and groups are free to canvass for or against a candidate, but federal or local government bodies are barred from the election campaign.

No poll is allowed to be conducted ten days before or on the eve of the vote. Each candidate is entitled to a single appearance on state radio or television.

The election campaign is to start immediately after a candidate or list of candidates have been registered and end on the polling day.

Individuals are banned from donating to the election fund of a candidate or group of candidates anything above 20 or 30 minimal salaries respectively, and legal entities anything in excess of 200 and 20,000 salaries respectively.

Any party or group winning less than 5 percent of the ballot is not qualified for parliamentary seats. The election is considered invalid if none of the parties wins the required 5 percent of the vote and their votes are to be distributed among other candidates in accordance with their order on the list.

Final results must be announced within a month after the election.

Yeltsin Issues Condolence Message

*LD0710093193 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 0855 GMT 7 Oct 93*

[Text] Moscow 7 Oct (ITAR-TASS)—The press service of the president of the Russian Federation has issued the text of Russian President Boris Yeltsin's condolences:

"Moscow and Russia are bidding farewell to the victims of the tragic events of 3-4 October. Among the dead are those who defended Russian democracy and the peace of Russians, those who were chance victims and those who were drawn into the bloody events through the criminal will of the instigators and organizers of the armed rebellion.

Today, as relatives and Muscovites are committing the dead to the soil, I grieve along with them for their untimely death. I express my deep and sincere condolences to their parents, wives, children, and all their relatives.

Faced with the tragedy, faced with the memory of the deceased, we all ponder the roots and causes of what has happened. Russia, its people and its leaders must learn a grave lesson from the blood that has been shed and do their utmost to prevent this tragedy being repeated and

to ensure that stable conditions are created to guarantee that citizens can live and work in peace and calm.

I will spare no effort in protecting the country from strife.

May peace and eternal memory be with those who have fallen.

[signed] President of the Russian Federation B. N. Yeltsin

[dated] 7 October 1993

Press Service Cited on Federation Council, Elections

PM0610123593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

["Own information" report: "Federation Council Session Postponed. The Council Must Do Some Good Thinking"]

[Text] Yesterday's canceled session of the Federation Council gave rise to a wave of rumors about its virtual elimination. Against the background of the final removal of parliament and the edict that has been prepared on the dissolution of the Constitutional Court (the president does not yet rule out the possibility that the "problem of Zorkin" will be resolved by the judges themselves) this looks like the last step on the way to B. Yeltsin's absolute dictatorship.

The president's Press Service has told us, however, that the Federation Council session has only been postponed, since the recent events need to be interpreted—which will take a certain time.

As regards the president's supposed agreement to simultaneous early elections, this is said to be a "sham." Yeltsin's previous edicts on holding parliamentary elections 11-12 December and presidential elections 12 June remain in force.

According to the information of the president's Press Service, the preparations for the December elections to the State Duma are in full swing and are going according to plan—reports of the organization of polling places and the formation of electoral districts are coming in from the regions.

Yeltsin Seen in No Hurry To Convene Federation Council

MK0610101393 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Vera Kuznetsova report under the "Tactics" rubric: "The Federation Council Session Has Been Postponed. An Attempt To Avoid the Confusion of Two Plans"]

[Text] The Federation Council, which was expected to convene in the Kremlin's St. George's Hall yesterday, has been postponed. The new date for its convocation

has not been specified. This may be 9 October, as the Russian Federation president promised earlier, or some other day shortly after his visit to Tokyo. Although quite possibly, the Federation Council, which has not been established yet, will not come together in its present composition at all.

The Federation Council belongs to the president's other tactical plan—not the one whose implementation got under way on 21 September. The Federation Council was necessary to Yeltsin in order to exert some influence on the Congress and the Supreme Soviet. Now there is no such need. At the same time, it is simply inexpedient to create with his own hands a political body with an uncertain position toward the president.

Of course, even as the winner, Yeltsin will not be able to avoid problems (short of conflicts) with the territories. At present, however, it is much more convenient for him to act through the former structures: to come to terms with the republics at the Council of Heads of Republics, and with the krais and oblasts—at conferences.

The regional leaders have themselves understood that they are acting late—or to be more accurate, they are already late in establishing the Federation Council. They have failed to unite on their own. And when, recollecting themselves, on 4 October they demanded (already under the wing of the center) an immediate convocation of a Council session from Chernomyrdin and Yeltsin, they received a refusal (so far a polite one). President Kirsan Ilyumzhinov of Kalmykia, who has recently been seriously tempting his political fate at the federal level, having arrived at Staraya Ploshchad on 4 October with categorical demands, left empty-handed because he did not understand a very simple thing, namely that the situation in Moscow had changed in favor of the Russian Federation Government. Akhsarbek Galazov, chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Northern Ossetia, proved a more experienced politician. He did not sign any ultimatum-like demands upon the president—this is on the one hand. On the other, he is sure that Yeltsin will inevitably turn to the regional leaders in some form or other, and then the conversation cannot proceed along the lines of "winners and losers."

As for the Federation Council as an advisory body, this may be history now. Presidential Press Secretary Vyacheslav Kostikov actually said that much in an interview with ITAR-TASS: "A short time-out has been taken to appraise the situation, to see how the Federation Council fits into it now." It seems that "now" means that the Federation Council will not get together until after the elections to the Federal Assembly—as one of its chambers.

Yeltsin Adviser Views Regional Situation

LD0610164793 London BBC Television Network in English 2230 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Interview with Boris Yeltsin adviser Sergey Karaganov, in Moscow, by Sue Cameron, in London, on 5 October; from the "Newsnight" program—recorded]

[Text] [Cameron] How great a risk is there that the president's tough line would simply provoke more calls for separatism from the regions?

[Karaganov] People in the provinces are afraid of relatively strong central power, however that is a technical or short-term danger, in the [word indistinct], or medium term, I think basically the relatively strong Moscow will be better for the whole of Russia. Also most of the people in the provinces already see that they need of course more local revenues, taxes, et cetera, but they absolutely are sure, as far as they know at least, that they are doomed, if they try to get out. They see excellent examples, or terrible examples of countries like Georgia, and even the Ukraine, which is basically economically falling apart.

[Cameron] Well, you say that there are areas like Georgia where everything is going wrong, but there are other examples such as Kazakhstan; Kazakhstan's doing very well.

[Karaganov] Well, Kazakhstan's doing relatively well, but also being more or less part and parcel of Russia economically.

[Cameron] But won't people want political independence, and are there not many regions which already have plans to become republics, or to take for themselves a much greater degree of independence?

[Karaganov] Well, they want as much independence to their needs as possible, however most of the people in the elitist circles of these regions of whom I talked understand the grave dangers, both economic and to them personally, if they go toward the road of independence.

[Cameron] But there are areas like Sverdlovsk, Mr. Yeltsin's own home area, which have been talking of setting up a Urals republic, and last week some of the local council heads in Siberia were threatening to create their own republic.

[Karaganov] That is not necessarily a negative thing, because basically Russia has never been a unitary state, I mean Russian has never been a unitary state during the tsarist times; the regions were run very much from within. The tsars were only giving very general guidelines and also of course sending prisoners there. Basically you cannot run the country from Moscow. So regionalization is the name of the game, and Moscow is not less interested in that.

[Cameron] How great is the risk that the Federation Council, many of whose members did not support the dissolution of parliament, how a great a risk is there that the Federation Council will become the new opposition?

[Karaganov] Well as I've told there is the possibility that regional leaders who are afraid of too strong a central government will form a new opposition. However, I'm not particularly afraid of that, all the more that they have been waiting to see who is winning. Now the president is winning and you see very well that many local bodies

who have been pro-parliamentary only a few hours ago, a few days ago, are turning their sights.

Yeltsin Spokesman Interviewed on Clashes, Elections

PM0610165593 Milan IL GIORNALE in Italian 6 Oct 93 p 2

[Interview with Anatoliy Krasikov, spokesman for President Yeltsin, by Luigi Offeddu in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—Now the street battle is over, the most difficult challenge of all has arrived for Russia's leaders: setting up a true democracy and allowing it time to grow. How and when that challenge will be met is explained in this interview with Anatoliy Andreyevich Krasikov, Boris Yeltsin's spokesman and press office chief.

[Offeddu] Anatoliy Andreyevich, since yesterday there has been only one official power in Russia: the president and his government. Is that not dangerous?

[Krasikov] There is not just one power. Before, we had two Russias: One was communist and fascist, the other was democratic. Now we have the opportunity to achieve political pluralism once and for all, in freedom and a rule-of-law state.

[Offeddu] Will the next elections, which have already been set for December, ensure this pluralism?

[Krasikov] Yes, certainly. Democracy's opponents wanted to impose their strength, they wanted the power of the soviets to remain forever. They did not want to leave their positions and their privileges. Victory over these opponents was unfortunately not peaceful. The red-browns (that is what the nationalist-communists are called—IL GIORNALE editor's note) started a bloodbath. At any rate, there was a victory. And it will give us the chance to give a voice to the people themselves, to the electorate of whatever political tendency.

[Offeddu] But in the West there is perplexity and criticism: With the opposition's papers shut down, how can a free election campaign take place?

[Krasikov] Look, I am in favor of complete freedom of the press, as a journalist, as a professor of journalism, and as a citizen. My guiding star has always been Voltaire's words, when he said: "I may disagree with every word you say, but I am prepared to die so you can freely and openly express your opinion." But, the way things are today, it was necessary to choose between two evils. So the lesser evil was chosen, but it is only temporary. When there is a danger of civil war and a bloodbath, this temporary limitation is necessary, unless we wish to find ourselves rushing headlong to disaster.

[Offeddu] Was it really impossible to have a final dialogue three days ago, when the first clashes took place between demonstrators and the police? Was force really the only way?

[Krasikov] No. For the president and the democrats, the only acceptable way was that of peace, the way of negotiation. This was the only one we could conceive of. But what happened was that, under the mask of negotiations, the communist-fascists first prepared and then unleashed this coup. Afterward, too, during the battle, the Army stopped several times: Each time negotiations started again, and especially when Defense Minister Grachev took part in them. Many thought this was a defenseless democracy, spineless, incapable of defending itself. In fact, the greatest concern was to restrict the number of casualties as much as possible. So we continued our actions firmly but slowly, step by step.

[Offeddu] But in the end there were casualties.

[Krasikov] Yes, unfortunately. And the president deplores that fact, regardless of the political color of those who fell, because, whatever else, they are citizens of this country. At least the number of dead was lower than it could have been under different circumstances.

[Offeddu] Anatoliy Andreyevich, will there never be another Communist Party in Russia?

[Krasikov] That depends on the situation. If the people, or the sympathizers, wish to create a party called "communist" in the future, that will be possible: But I am not sure they will want to. The only condition will be that that party—or any other party—must proclaim and implement its policies in a peaceful fashion, without resort to violence and weapons.

[Offeddu] In recent days we have seen snipers shooting from the tops of buildings: Is there a danger that the opposition will now adopt terrorist methods?

[Krasikov] The danger is there, but it is not as great as before, because we used to have a nucleus of resistance in the totalitarianists, and now this nucleus has been eradicated. The totalitarianists have lost a foothold. Above all, they do not have the people's support. There could be isolated hotbeds but, so far, we have prevented what is happening in Yugoslavia from happening in our country's regions. I hope we will be able to continue to prevent this. What we also need now is for democratic forces to unite. Democracy must defend itself. It must learn to work calmly and with decision, but taking into account the opinions of the whole populace, whatever political tendency they may belong to.

State of Emergency in Moscow

Khasbulatov, Rutskoy, Others Reportedly in Solitary Confinement

LD0610194593 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1803 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By CRIME-PRESS correspondents Sergey Oleinik and Nikolay Semenenko for TASS]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Informed sources told CRIME PRESS that 160 people were taken to the Lefortovo prison after they surrendered at the white house.

There are no people's deputies among them except for Rutskoy and Khasbulatov. About half of those detained have already been released after questioning. Others remain for further investigation of their culpability.

The mutiny leaders - Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, Barannikov, Dunayev, Achalov and Makashev are in solitary confinement each. The rest are put two or three to a cell.

Lawyers have not yet been allowed to see them until the formal arrest warrants have been issued. Before that date all of them are considered under administrative detention.

Relatives are allowed to hand over food parcels. The physical state of those held in Lefortovo prison now is satisfactory.

Lawyer Denied Access To Khasbulatov

LD0610163593 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1349 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The well-known Moscow lawyer Abdulla Khamzayev, defending the former Soviet Vice-President Gennady Yanayev at the court hearings into the case of the August 1991 coup plotters, will defend the ex-speaker of the Russian Parliament Ruslan Khasbulatov. Khamzayev was asked to defend Khasbulatov by the latter's wife.

Khamzayev has told Interfax Wednesday [6 October] that so far he is not allowed to see his client who is in custody in the Lefortovo prison. The lawyer said he got no explanations as to the reasons of isolation, though, he said, he sent telegrams to the General Prosecutor's Office.

According to Khamzayev, such actions by the law-enforcement bodies violate Khasbulatov's right for defense because the lawyer may be present at interrogations of his client.

Khamzayev has said that he knows nothing about the status of the ex-speaker in the Lefortovo prison. The prison's representative told Khamzayev that Khasbulatov was only a detainee.

His relatives may hand over to him necessary belongings. However, he cannot so far see his family.

Khasbulatov's Health 'Not Very Good'

LD0610141093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1330 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] I have just received a POSTFACTUM report. A POSTFACTUM correspondent reports, citing legal experts, that he learned at the association of foreign correspondents in Moscow that the state of health of

Ruslan Khasbulatov is not very good at all. There are doubts whether he will be able to live long enough to see the trial.

Isakov Claims OMON Beat Detainees

PM0610131193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 2

[Report by Aleksandr Gamov: "Are Deputies Still Being Beaten?"]

[Text] What happened to the deputies, the service personnel of the "White House," and its defenders after they left their refuge before the eyes of the whole world (thanks to television) and descended the marble steps onto Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment? There is quite a lot of contradictory information about this. Here is the testimony of People's Deputy Vladimir Isakov:

"Before we left the 'White House,' our safety and immunity were guaranteed. Then, when we had already come out, we were told that buses would soon be provided and would take us home.

"At approximately 1900 hours our group, which, in addition to Sergey Baburin and myself, included approximately 300 other people—deputies, defenders, operatives—were taken to a nearby building which, if you face the Moskva River, is on the right-hand side. We were taken through the entrance and were searched, we entered the yard and then went through another entrance. There people in the uniform of members of the special-purpose militia detachment [OMON], their faces masked, began beating us up while using foul language.

"After this we were lined up and made to run toward the 'Trekhgornaya Manufaktura' Factory. There we were ordered to lie on the ground and were again laid into with gun butts. Sergey Baburin was beaten up very badly. Yermak Filatov, a 'White House' apparatus worker, had ribs broken. Blood was trickling from the eye of Vakif Fakhrutdinov, deputy from Tataria.... Then several people were thrown into a bus and taken first to 38 Petrovka [militia headquarters] and then to the 22d Militia Station. I do not know what happened to the rest. On the morning of 5 October our testimonies were taken, and then some were sent home and some to hospital."

P.S.

In publishing Vladimir Isakov's testimony, we admit that it might be inaccurate—a lot of fabrications are being heard now about the further fate of the "White House" inmates who surrendered. I would like to refute the facts expounded here. In order to do so, Sergey Baburin and the other victims of beating mentioned in the testimony must be shown, without bruises, to us.

Prosecutor's Office Frees Baburin, 58 Others

LD0610135293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1127
GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] On Tuesday [5 October], Moscow's Prosecutor's Office freed 59 people detained during the events on October 3 and 4. The Moscow prosecutor's senior advisor Vladimir Goncharov told Interfax that among the detainees were former people's deputies Sergey Baburin, Vyacheslav Lyubimov, and Sergey Druganov, ex-vice chairman of the Moscow Council (Soviet) Yuriy Sedykh-Bondarenko, and former deputies of the Moscow Council Aleksandr Tsopov and Viktor Kuzin.

To quote Goncharov, the prosecutor's office took this decision in the absence of legal reasons for detention.

Moscow Commandant Says Situation 'Better'

LD0610171493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 1624 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondents Vladimir Gondusov, Andrey Palariya]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct—Militia Lieutenant General Aleksandr Kulikov, the commandant of the area of the state of emergency in Moscow, believes that "since the state of emergency regime was introduced into the capital the situation in the city has taken a sharp turn for the better."

The state of emergency, Aleksandr Kulikov told ITAR-TASS journalists today, will enable the crime situation in Moscow to stabilize and the increase in crime to fall sharply. Incidentally, he noted, no instances of shooting or pockets of resistance were recorded during the past night in the capital.

The law protection bodies, he said, have rapidly switched to a new work regime, and intend to operate with greater maneuverability and mobility, not only in the city's central regions but also in the outskirts. The commandant's office has the necessary forces and means to achieve this. However, the general is anticipating assistance from Muscovites who, he believes, should cooperate with the forces of law and order more actively. The benefit from such cooperation will be mutual.

Aleksandr Kulikov said that 10 district sectors under the control of the commandant's office had been set up. All the necessary military law and civilian services had begun functioning. "We adopted a decision not to introduce special passes for employees of the metro and railway and surface transport. All that is necessary is for them to show their work identity card to the commandant's patrol." In the general's opinion, the main task of the commandant is to ensure that a city of several million people is running normally.

In his office as commandant, which is unusual for one involved in operations, Aleksandr Kulikov is undoubtedly being assisted by his experience in Afghanistan, the

Dniester region, North Ossetia, and other "hot spots." It was precisely this, his colleagues feel, which persuaded the president to entrust the country's deputy minister of internal affairs with such a responsible mission.

Troops To Remain Until End of State of Emergency

LD0610125893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1228 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Sergey Ostanin]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—The troops brought into Moscow to suppress the armed riot will remain here until the state of emergency ends at 16:10 on Sunday, October 10, ITAR-TASS was told today by the Russian defence minister's public relations officer Yelena Agapova.

Agapova said the contingent in question includes units and formations of the Tamanskaya and Kantemirovskaya Divisions.

Report on Troops Guarding White House

LD0610160493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1358 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Andrey Serov]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct—The troops who have been manning the cordon around the Moscow White House for many days now are obviously tired, but nevertheless, they are maintaining high discipline and efficiency.

A senior lieutenant in the Interior Ministry forces, who wished to remain anonymous, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that his subunit, which is currently guarding approaches to the former House of Soviets on the Hotel Ukraine side, had been involved in the Moscow events since 24 September. Several members of the detachment, which has been guarding various installations and patrolling the streets of the capital, have been wounded. It sustained its worst losses on 3 and 4 October on the approaches to the parliament building. "They were shooting to kill but we, as a rule, fired in the air," said the commander.

Today the soldiers will have to stand guard for 12 hours or more, without a break. Knowing that there may still be rebel snipers in the White House itself and around it, they have hardly taken off their flak jackets for days. They have to sleep in APCs. The tense atmosphere continues, although there were no attacks on the sentries this morning.

The nervous tension is heightened by a fairly large crowd of curious onlookers who have gathered by the barriers. Quite a few supporters of the dissolved Supreme Soviet in the crowd are shouting insults and even threats at the soldiers. "We are called occupiers, murderers, and SS troopers," the senior lieutenant said. "By hanging around here these people are not only irritating the

soldiers but putting themselves in danger, bearing in mind the possibility of shooting."

In spite of the difficult situation, the soldiers' morale is holding up, the commander said. Senior officers have not foisted any political orientation on them. "The men know that they have come here to maintain order."

Security Ministry Reports 10-12 'Militants' Remain

LD0610163093 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1349 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] By 14:00 Moscow time on Wednesday [6 October], there were only 10-12 opposition militants operating in the capital. A Security Ministry spokesman has told Interfax that most of them will be arrested during the day.

On Tuesday, three emplacements atop buildings near Krasnaya Presnya and the Kiev rail terminal were destroyed. Two automatic rifles were captured and 15 suspected gunmen were taken into custody. The high-rise buildings on New Arbat were completely cleared of snipers and taken under full control.

The spokesman admitted that the operations to confiscate high precision weapons, including sniper guns and short automatic rifles, had been unsuccessful so far. Security and Interior Ministry officers have managed to confiscate only one sniper weapon, whereas the opposition is reported to have got hold of 20 guns.

Interfax has also learned that servicemen of the 27 Rapid Deployment Brigade will be used in operations against groups of militants. A ministry officer said that rapid deployment troops "can retaliate 6-10 minutes after receiving a warrant to crush militants."

Moscow Militia Head Denies Defections; Crime Figures Given

LD0610163293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Oct 93

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer Shatunov] At a news conference that took place today, Brigadier (Militia) Vladimir Pankratov, head of the Moscow City Directorate of Internal Affairs, denied rumors that some of his subordinates had gone over to the side of the uprising. In his words, the CNN TV company documentary scenes that showed people in militia uniforms among those who had surrendered inside the White House [in fact] showed interior troop soldiers who were taken prisoner by armed guerrillas [boyeviki].

At the same time, the Russian law and order bodies have been involved in Operation Signal for the past eight days. According to information from the Russian Interior Ministry, 3,500 criminals have been detained, 95 murders, about 300 thefts and thefts with assault, and 60

instances of arms and munitions theft have been solved. The activities of 347 criminal groups have been brought to an end, and about 1,500 firearms and other weapons have been confiscated from criminals, along with over 40,000 units of munitions and 145 units of explosives.

[Report by correspondent Suntsov] Nine Moscow militiamen were killed and 78 injured during guerrilla actions in Moscow, it was pointed out at a news conference in Moscow. The militia repelled four armed terrorist attacks on militia stations to snatch arms, although as General Pankratov pointed out, the duty of the militia was not participation in combat operations, but support of social order. Today the Moscow militia has been reinforced by OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] detachments from other regions of Russia, and their duty is not to allow any possible movement of arms into or out of Moscow.

Replying to questions by journalists, the head of the Moscow militia said that the militia had been insisting on introducing a visa regime for Moscow for three months, but the Moscow City Council had been blocking the proposal. At the same time, about a third of the armed people in the White House were not Muscovites. It also became clear that General Pankratov, head of the Moscow militia, did not have exact information, in particular about events near Ostankino during the armed assault on the TV center.

Pankratov stated that guerrillas were rallying there for only 15 minutes, whereas in fact the rally alone lasted about 90 minutes.

Over 5,000 Troops Enforcing Curfew

LD0710033893 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 2345 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondents Vladimir Gondusov and Andrey Palariya]

[Text] Moscow, 7 October—"Over 5,000 servicemen of the Russian internal troops are enforcing the regime of state of emergency and curfew in Moscow today. A reliable reserve is ready to reinforce this group of troops at any time," Colonel Vladimir Chursalov, deputy commandant of Moscow's region of state of emergency, told *ITAR-TASS* correspondents today. Servicemen are guarding the White House and Ostankino, other important facilities, working at check-points of the Moscow ring road, and are carrying out other special tasks.

Sub-units and units from other regions of Russia were not brought in to carry out the tasks of state of emergency but they are ready to arrive in Moscow at any moment.

The officer described the situation in the capital as tense but under control. In his view, however, guerrillas can appear in the center and outskirts of the city. Armed people who are afraid of retribution and do not dare to leave the building might still remain in the White House.

In order to halt provocations, internal troops have concentrated a sufficient number of personnel and means at the former House of Soviets.

Col. Chursalov, who has been to many "hot spots," believes that the state of emergency was introduced in Moscow in time. The conflict was localized quite quickly and did not spread across the country; something that unfortunately, happened in Nagorno-Karabakh, Fergana, and South Ossetia. At the same time, in his view, it was sometimes easier to assess the situation and make decisions to use troops in the regions of interethnic conflicts. In Moscow, considering its vastness, dense population, major economic and military industrial potential, and its complex network of transport routes and communications, this task is much more difficult.

Situation on Moscow Streets 'Starting To Stabilize'

PM0710090393 Moscow *KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian* 7 Oct 93 p 1

[Vasily Fatigarov report: "The State of Emergency Persists. The Situation Is Starting To Stabilize"]

[Text] According to reports by the Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration, there were no attacks on servicemen or military installations during the night of 5-6 October. Five murders were recorded in Moscow, one of which was cleared up, and there were seven violent robberies (three cleared up) and 12 thefts (seven cleared up). Bursts of assault rifle fire and shots were still heard in certain rayons of Moscow.

In the opinion of Moscow firefighters, the installations damaged in the recent events do not pose a great fire danger. But there is a different danger. Lone snipers continued operating Tuesday evening. Junior Sergeant Yevgeniy Kashayev, instructor on a fire truck standing at that time near the White House on Sadovoye Koltso, confirmed: "A sniper was ensconced in one of the surrounding buildings. I heard shots at about five o'clock in the evening."

The city is being patrolled around the clock by servicemen and militia detachments. The main tension is at the center. There is and has been no takeoff in the number of offenses in outlying districts.

"The curve of the growth in crimes in our district remains at the former level," Militia Colonel Vladimir Lipunov, commandant of the capital's Northern District, stated. "The events which have developed since 21 September have had no effect on the number of offenses. There have been shots, but this is the usual crime situation."

But all the guardians of order with whom I spoke last night said that the tough measures to implement the state of emergency were enforced and necessary, as a large number of uncontrolled weapons are distributed around Moscow. They must not be fired!

"Thank God, firearms have not yet been confiscated from vehicles, as was done in the region of the state of emergency in Ossetia," Lieutenant Vyacheslav Klubukov of the State Automobile Inspectorate said. "The population's attitude toward us is well disposed. Alas, there have been attacks, but in the main people understand the need for the steps taken by the government."

"I do not quite agree with the State Automobile Inspectorate spokesman," Militia Lt. Col. Vladimir Afanasyev, who is coordinating the actions of a Yaroslavl OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] group, said. "There are very many functioning commercial stalls and people strolling about, and the traffic intensity does not die down until 0200 hours. In such a situation anything can happen...."

OMON detachments from many Russian cities are operating in Moscow. One mobile group alone, with which I have worked, detained approximately 70 people for violating the regime in the space of three hours. Many of them knew of the state of emergency regime but supposedly did not realize there was a curfew.

"I knew about the state of emergency regime," Aleksandr Makhotin, production editor of Radio Radonezh, said. "But I did not know the procedure for implementing it."

The OMON acted tough, but "without excesses." None of the illegal goods confiscated from stall owners ended up in their pockets. I saw five OMON members sharing their last cigarette, but without opening confiscated packets of Marlboro and Camel.

The militia did not even detain many people making their way home. Nevertheless, according to Militia Lt. Col. Aleksandr Rozanov, deputy commandant of the Central District, 424 people were brought in to Central District militia stations for various violations during the night of 5-6 October. At midnight a certain Yuriy Martynov was shot in his car while resisting militia staffers. Another citizen was seriously injured in an analogous situation. This is the cost of carelessness....

But you can already feel that Moscow is gradually awakening from the nightmare which has shrouded it. Lessons are not yet taking place in all schools, and not all parents are venturing to let their children out of their apartments, but the faces of our boys and girls look quite different to what they were a day or two ago. The kids have been the first to "forget" what happened, and their joie de vivre inspires hope. I would very much like to believe that all this will very soon sink into oblivion, and soldiers with assault rifles atilt will disappear from the capital's streets. The soldiers themselves are tired. Not even the most "impressionable" journalist could hardly have dreamed up what has fallen to their lot during these days.

Number of Casualties Rising

LD0610193293 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Director of the Emergency Medical Assistance Center, Ludmila Kostomarov announced that, according to the information received by 14:00 on Wednesday [6 October], a total of 691 persons had been victims to the events in Moscow on October 3-4. As many as 123 of them died, 467 were hospitalized and 101 received appropriate first aid treatment.

According to Kostomarov, the number of deaths has been growing due to the fact that there were corpses brought to the city's morgues on October 3-5, adding to the ones which had been brought by ambulances. They have been registered and information on them is being sent to the center. Kostomarov said that a number of corpses had been brought to the 1st Medical College.

At what time further searching for corpses in the White House will continue has yet to be determined.

Political Issues

Yeltsin Pressing Constitutional Court Chair Zorkin To Resign

PM0610123193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by Stas Stremidlovskiy: "The Court Decides the Question of V. Zorkin's Constitutionality"]

[Text] In a telephone conversation yesterday with Valeriy Zorkin, chairman of the Russian Federation Constitutional Court, Sergey Filatov, leader of the president's administration, conveyed to him the demand of Russian Federation President Boris Yeltsin and Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that he resign voluntarily. It was said, Zorkin maintains, that otherwise criminal proceedings would be instituted against him. The Russian Federation president's administration is also putting direct pressure on Constitutional Court judges. According to unofficial data, Sergey Filatov is summoning the judges to him one by one and suggesting that they "surrender" their chairman.

Describing the request of Boris Yeltsin and Viktor Chernomyrdin as blackmail, Valeriy Zorkin still declared that "the Russian Federation Constitutional Court is not in a position to resolve matters with regard to verifying the constitutionality of international treaties and normative acts of the Russian Federation." Only individual complaints from citizens and legal persons will be examined.

Zorkin Blamed for Encouraging Opposition

MK0610102593 Moscow KURANTY in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 4

[Report by Viktor Bondarev: "Zorkin—Criminal No. 3"]

[Excerpts] Even a few days ago, many people and a part of the press were saying that both branches of power were equally responsible for the political crisis.

Listening to this demagoguery, one wonders how short the memory of the accusers is. Why is it that Anpilov was still on the rampage? Because the Moscow City Soviet defended him, and there were no legal possibilities to isolate the provocateur. Why is it that the National Salvation Front, the Officers' Union, and other terrorists kept terrorizing Moscow? It is also common knowledge: they were protected by the Supreme Soviet. Why did the general prosecutor's office sit on its hands? Isn't it clear? It abided by decisions made by the Supreme Soviet. The red and brown found themselves under the protection of the soviets, and there were no legal—excuse me—constitutional means to give them a decisive fight! [passage omitted]

Along with Rutskoy and Khasbulatov, Zorkin bears most of the blame for the blood spilled. It was he and his henchmen from the Constitutional Court who did their utmost to let the deputies' rampage continue. It was he who constantly tried to tie the executive branch hand and foot when it promptly tried to avert the processes that were brought to their logical or, to be more accurate, illogical conclusion as a result of the court's connivance. One can say that they had different reasons, but does it make any difference what objectives they had? What is important is that the Constitutional Court turned out to be a puppet in the hands of the red and brown and at the same time a bar that closed all possibilities of averting the bloodshed. This cannot be called other than criminal negligence. [passage omitted]

Judges Demand Zorkin Resign

LD0610122093 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1035 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Yegor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—"Whether the Constitutional Court of the Russian Federation will keep on as a democratic institution is now dependent, in particular, on the conduct of Chief Justice Valeriy Zorkin" is how four Constitutional Court Judges Nikolay Vitruk, Tamara Morshchakova, Vladimir Oleinik and Ernest Ametistov commented during a meeting with journalists late on Tuesday [5 October] night on the "critical", as they put it, situation in the Constitutional Court.

"Many judges expressed no-confidence in Valeriy Zorkin and suggested that he resign," said Nikolay Vitruk, deputy chairman of the Constitutional Court.

"He has got to make a courageous decision which would be the right one in the current situation. We shall not work with such a chief justice. This means that we are breaking up the court as a collective democratic body," Vitruk said.

"The law on the Constitutional Court bans any judge, not only the chief justice, from engaging in political activities," said Morshchakova. A large number of judges maintain that the chief justice does engage in such activities, and "therefore he may no longer continue not only as the chief justice but also as a judge of the Constitutional Court," she said.

Oleinik is of the opinion that Zorkin "has no right, even a moral one, to be a Constitutional Court member." An overwhelming majority of judges have stated that the chief justice has got to decide on whether to resign. It is believed that Judge Nikolay Seleznev and Court Secretary Yuriy Rutkin may support the demand for Zorkin's resignation.

The question of Zorkin's resignation remains open. On Wednesday morning he did not report to work due to an illness. Physicians insist on his hospitalisation. Meanwhile, judges began to confer in the Constitutional Court and, among other things, may consider the question of attitude to the demand for Zorkin's resignation.

"The administration of the president seeks to retain the Constitutional Court as a democratic institution" is how Vitruk viewed the visit to the Constitutional Court by presidential administration chief Sergey Filatov on Tuesday night at Zorkin's request.

Vitruk To Be Acting Chairman

LD0610165993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1609 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Igor Belskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct—In connection with the fact that Valeriy Zorkin today spoke about relinquishing his powers as Constitutional Court chairman, Nikolay Vitruk, who was Zorkin's deputy, will carry out the duties of Constitutional Court chairman.

Nikolay Vitruk explained to journalists that carrying this out will not require any additional decisions of the Constitutional Court. He also said that the Constitutional Court has not today begun examining the question of suspending Valeriy Zorkin's powers as a member of the Constitutional Court "for his political actions that are incompatible with the status of a Constitutional Court judge." The court will return to this matter as soon as the former Constitutional Court chairman returns to work after illness.

Stepashin Interviewed on Recent Events, Security Ministry Role

OW0710084293 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 0330 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Interview with Sergey Vladimirovich Stepashin, first deputy minister of security, by correspondent Yelena Golubeva; place and date not given—recorded; from the "Utro" program]

[Text] The time has now come when we are beginning to analyze the events which occurred on Sunday and Monday [3 and 4 October]. Naturally the question arises, was it possible to avoid them? Could they have been predicted? We should probably address this question to the Ministry of Security since this lies within its competence and it is its professional responsibility. Our correspondent Yelena Golubeva interviewed Mr. Stepashin, first deputy minister of security.

[Begin recording] [Golubeva] What was the role of the Russian Ministry of Security in this crisis?

[Stepashin] I hope that all the conjecture that is being spread in certain circles, that the Ministry of Defense almost initiated the events that occurred, naturally have no basis in fact. The main task which the Ministry of Security set itself—and we generally knew what was happening in the White House, around it, and in the regions and many of our locations; why I myself visited the White House twice and met Barannikov and Rutskoy there literally two days before the bloody events on Sunday—was to orient our government and leadership toward the possibility. [sentence as heard] We tried to influence those who were in the White House, in our own way, and that included through the deputies corps, so that it could all be solved peacefully.

[Golubeva] It is hard to believe that the Ministry of Defense could not anticipate the attack on Ostankino and the mayor's offices.

[Stepashin] We had information on the actions that were being planned by Anpilov, Konstantinov, and the notorious Officers Union—which had lost its leader Terekhov—and projections were made. In fact the projections were made by the Ministry of Internal Affairs. I must say frankly that Andrey Nikolayevich Soskovets, and Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, and our Premier Viktor Stepanovich Chernomyrdin adopted a decision and the president issued a carte blanche, as they say, for negotiations to be held with the people in the White House. You will recall that an agreement was signed. As far as I know and the information I had—and this is my personal conclusion—I think that the assault on Ostankino and the looting of the mayor's offices were not part of the plans of the people in the White House. I think this occurred in a fairly spontaneous way and led to the consequences that we saw on Monday.

[Golubeva] But despite all the spontaneity it was not so easy to repulse the attack.

[Stepashin] You know, word of honor, that right until the last moment I could not believe that they—I mean Makashov and his gang who generally made hostages of the people's deputies—would resort to such bloody actions. I think that this too was a very serious lesson for us all. And Rutskoy's actions, you recall his appeal from the balcony, essentially scrapped any chances the former White House leaders had for their actions to be considered legitimate or for any political success.

[Golubeva] Some analysts are comparing these October days with the Kronshtadt mutiny. What is your opinion?

[Stepashin] I would not draw any analogies of this sort. The composition of the mutineers was different and their motives were different. How can Makashov, Barkashov, and other swastika-bearing bandits and wild misfits that I saw there myself, be compared to the Kronshtadt mutineers? What is their ideology? They are bandits. Criminals and bandits. So let us proceed from this.

[Golubeva] You know that in the past few days another issue has been raised, an issue that is fairly frightening for Russia. It is fascism in Russia. I am by no means appealing for a return to NKVD [People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs, forerunner of the KGB] methods or to political trials. But if we take the developed countries as an example, the established democracies, nearly everywhere there are some form of oversight councils whose members can even openly attend the meetings of various parties and public organizations in order to know simply what these parties stand for and what they plan to do.

[Stepashin] Well, I want to reiterate this, that this should be open and confirmed de jure.

[Golubeva] Sergey Vladimirovich, the term power ministries is popular today. What does this mean? Does it mean that the Ministry of Security can restrain someone else's forces? Or, can it use its own forces? When? And how large are the Ministry of Security's forces?

[Stepashin] If we were assessing the former KGB of the Soviet Union, when we had special purpose units, including the much-talked-about Alpha Group led by Karpukhin, then we could probably talk about it as a power ministry in the literal sense. Today we do not have units of this sort, although I feel that this is abnormal. There is a corresponding order of the minister—it was Barannikov at the time—and there is a corresponding instruction of the president that every territorial administration, including ours, include a special unit that could wage a struggle against terrorism literally, not fictitiously or by proxy. I think we will return to it.

[Golubeva] Another thing that is not quite clear is the ministry's relationship with the government. I understand that the government too is having a hard time now, in other words....

[Stepashin, interrupting] What don't you understand?

[Golubeva] Is the ministry obliged to report [to the Government] and does it have the right to insist on something if it has precise information at its disposal?

[Stepashin] As far as reporting is concerned, not only are we obliged to report, we give corresponding summaries to the president daily. He then writes down who else gets what. In the framework of the emergency situation now we meet daily between 1800 and 1900 [1500-1600 GMT] in the office of Oleg Nikolayevich Soskovets on Staraya

Square—well you know, occasionally they show it on television—where I represent the ministry, not myself, and I give—well maybe in a fairly abbreviated way and not the entire information, since there are too many various people in attendance, and frankly some information occasionally leaks out—information on what we know, how we see it, how we foresee various situations.

As far as the second question about insistence is concerned, well, I think that a certain courage is necessary to do this, including political boldness, but we must insist and we have this right, but as you can see we now have a difficult period. If you insist too much you may find yourself somewhere else. [laughs] Well, that is a disease of our society, what can you do? [end recording]

Moscow Mayor Interviewed on Costs of Rebellion, Outlook

MK0610105093 Moscow MOSKOVSKIYE NOVOSTI
in Russian No. 41, 10 Oct 93 (signed to press 5 Oct)
p A10

[Interview with Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov by Viktor Loshak under the "Politics" rubric: "Moscow Has Not Known Such Losses in Peace Time"; in Moscow, date not given]

[Text] Our conversation with the mayor ended precisely by the time the curfew began. It seemed that all of Moscow with all its problems and difficulties resided in Yuriy Luzhkov's office that evening. Decisions had to be made on how to provide nearly 1,500 arrested rebels with meals; someone brought the red flag torn from the City Hall's roof; and the mayor asked someone on the phone about the whereabouts of Yuriy Voronin, who was unaccounted for among those arrested by that time.

[Loshak] Why are you so interested in former Deputy Speaker Voronin, of all people?

[Luzhkov] You know, he is to a great extent responsible for thwarting peace talks with the president's emissaries, and thus for the blood that was spilled. The thing is that on the night of Thursday to Friday [the night of 30 September] we, the presidential side, agreed upon everything with Sokolov and Abdulatipov. It was a great relief! Everyone lived under the threat of bloodshed. In a few hours, in the morning, a meeting of experts was to begin to discuss details with regard to the surrender of weapons. It was then that Voronin emerged. They probably sensed that we did not even entertain a thought about attacking the White House. Voronin tried to buy time and started waffling. He said that the "night" disarmament protocol was valid, but the so-called Congress rescinded all its provisions and he suggested that we resolve political matters first... Now it is understandable that they were biding their time to dovetail their plans with those of the gunmen who were being organized in Moscow outside the White House to strike unexpectedly.

[Loshak] Doesn't it seem to you that following the White House's surrender, many of those gunmen will spread throughout Moscow and will have a chance to act? Can this tragedy become a pretext for political terrorism in the capital?

[Luzhkov] I have a feeling that a lot of troubles may be inflicted by hyping them up on television and in the press. Of course, there is the experience of political terrorism in Russia, but there is also society's aversion to it. I do not recall unrelated crimes for political reasons in the capital. Presently, a lot will depend on how effectively we manage to clean up Moscow.

[Loshak] How did it happen on the night of the armed clashes that a decision was made to call on unarmed Muscovites to come to the square outside the Moscow City Soviet?

[Luzhkov] The crux of my appeal to most residents of the city was precisely to ask them, given the situation, not to take to the streets unnecessarily, to stay home. I invited to the building of the Moscow government on Tverskaya Street, where the democratically-minded public gathered, only those who could not stand aside at the sight of the rampaging reds and browns, those who could not help protesting as they saw all this.

[Loshak] The city and its residents were the main victims of the clashes. Is the scale of the calamity already clear to you?

[Luzhkov] There have not been such losses in peace time in Moscow. The numbers are being clarified. But the lives can no longer be brought back.

Many people liken these October days to August 1991, but at that time three people were killed. Roads and transportation were partially damaged... Now it is a different, entirely different thing. The number of people killed and wounded is incomparably greater. The White House burned substantially, and there is damage in the City Hall and the Mir Hotel. Figures? Perhaps the damage approaches one trillion. In 1991, it was 65 million rubles, albeit in prices of that time.

[Loshak] On Tuesday morning, appeals were made from television screens to bring medicines for the wounded. Doesn't the city have a reserve of the most necessary medicines for a situation like this?

[Luzhkov] This was an absolutely baseless and irresponsible appeal. There is a reserve. One must simply know when and to whom one should turn for it. Blood is another matter—here we really needed help.

[Loshak] Would you tell us about the restrictive measures that City Hall is going to take in the capital?

[Luzhkov] I can promise you that there will be only the necessary minimum. We will support the ban on parties and publications that propagated violence and endlessly offended the president. As a matter of fact, have you

noticed that Yeltsin himself has never offended or injured the human dignity of Rutskoy, Khasbulatov, or others?

[Loshak] Please tell me, Yuriy Mikhaylovich, if the elections result in a new president, will you stay on in your office or will you go too?

[Luzhkov] Undoubtedly, I am a member of Yeltsin's team. We consciously follow his course and take part in shaping domestic policies. If need be, we argue and demand that decisions be adjusted. The Moscow government, as a team, is committed to his course of reform. We, I am sure, like the entire country, will feel ill at ease if Yeltsin is not re-elected. Whether someone likes Boris Nikolayevich or not—he is the linchpin of Russian reform. I do not see any other figure on the horizon. This is, as a matter of fact, his miscalculation. He does not groom anyone to step in his shoes and does not show anyone to the country. I say this with regret.

[Loshak] This means you do not link your work as mayor to the election of a new president?

[Luzhkov] Here everything is clear for me. I am confident that if Boris Nikolayevich decides to run for president, he will win. In this respect your very question makes no sense.

[Loshak] Whether we want it or not, currently the heightening of yet another round of tensions between the regions and the capital is only too evident. There is even an opinion that the capital will go down [propadat] without the territories, whereas they will only be better off without it.

[Luzhkov] This is absurd. Judging by appearances, this is the same demagoguery that was leveled at Russia when the USSR was breaking up. What has come of it? How can they do without the transportation hub of Moscow, without the fact that over half of Russia's scientific and cultural potential, and a vast share of the food, defense, and car industries are located here? It is Moscow that will be better off without reaching for others' pockets. You can judge for yourself: We rank second after Tyumen in terms of per capita payments to the Russian budget. All this was made possible by our great industrial potential, moreover, in conditions when Moscow bears the burden of a large number of all-Russian state institutions.

[Loshak] Will you tell me please, can you describe what happened during these days as "a victory?"

[Luzhkov] Undoubtedly. August 1991 was not yet a victory. At that time we just made a crack in the system and created opportunities for radical change. But those opportunities were not used then. Victory is what we have now. We broke the backbone of the soviets and the consolidation of communist structures with a downright fascist and chauvinist organization. These days are reopening the path toward forming a new system of state government.

[Loshak] What do you mean?

[Luzhkov] I mean the creation of a presidential-type democratic republic.

Justice Ministry Directive Lists Banned Organizations

PM0610133193 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Directive No. 131/16-47 of the Ministry of Justice "On Terminating the Activity of Certain Public Associations in Accordance with the Russian Federation President's Edict of 4 October 1993 'On Urgent Measures To Ensure the State of Emergency in Moscow City,'" dated 4 October 1993 and signed by Minister of Justice Yu.Kh. Kalmykov]

[Text] Having examined material submitted by the commandant of the area governed by the state of emergency in Moscow City pertaining to the actions of certain public associations during the period of the state of emergency, considering that they exceeded the rights and powers envisaged by their charters—taking part in mass disturbances and other illegal actions in Moscow 3-4 October 1993—and guided by Article 7 of the Russian Federation President's edict of 4 October 1993 "On Urgent Measures To Ensure the State of Emergency in Moscow City" and Article 23, Point "C" of the Russian Federation Law "On the State of Emergency,"

I decree:

1. That the activity of the following public associations be terminated: the National Salvation Front; the Russian Communist Workers Party; the Social Club of the "Officers Union"; the United Front of Working People of Russia; the "Shchit" Union of Social-Legal Protection for Servicemen, Military Reservists, and Members of Their Families; the Russian Communist Youth League; the "Working Russia" movement; and Russian National Unity.

2. That the Russian Federation Ministry of Justice Administration for the Affairs of Public and Religious Associations examine the possibility of winding up the above public associations in accordance with prescribed procedure.

[Signed] Minister of Justice Yu.Kh. Kalmykov
[Dated] 4 October 1993

New Procurator General Kazannik Interviewed on Work

LD0610215493 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Interview with new Procurator General Aleksey Kazannik, by correspondent Ivan Pankov, date and place not given; From the "Novosti" newscast—recorded]

[Text] Now we will show you the first interview given by the new procurator general of Russia. Let me remind you, at the first USSR Congress of People's Deputies in

May-June 1989, Boris Yeltsin did not get through on the voting lists to the USSR Supreme Soviet. Then, on the fourth day of the Congress's work, Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik resigned in favor of the future Russian president, Boris Yeltsin.

[Pankov] You made a very vivid impression at that critical moment during the elections to the Supreme Soviet when you gave your place to Boris Yeltsin.

[Kazannik] You know, this is all history now. I think it is not worth going back to it. I was motivated only by a sense of justice. I always react to any violations of legality and justice. At the time I thought—and I still think now—that Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin deserved it more than I did. My family raised me to give way to somebody more deserving.

[Pankov] The situation is very difficult at present. It might seem that the new procurator general who has just come here adheres to some political views to a certain degree, and might be guided by them in his work on this post.

[Kazannik] I would like to dispel any doubts. I represent neither the president, nor the former Supreme Soviet, nor the former Congress. I represent only the law. I would like to pacify all Russian citizens. Over the last years the procuracy has neither planned nor carried out any political or social repressions. And it will not happen now. In the procuracy's work we will be guided by a well-known principle—not a single person who is guilty should avoid responsibility, and at the same time not a single person who is innocent should be prosecuted.

Discusses Background, Arrests

LD0710085393 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0652 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Interview with new Procurator General Aleksey Kazannik, by correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov, place and date not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified announcer] Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov has been in touch with the MVD's [Ministry of Internal Affairs] editorial offices today, we have been telling you about the operational situation in Moscow and throughout Russia, and we promised Anatoliy that he would be able to meet Russia's new procurator general today. Anatoliy is already in the studio, so over to you.

[Fedorov] Unfortunately, Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik is not with me, but you will now be able to hear Aleksey Ivanovich on tape. I would like to thank him for the fact that, despite his work load, he received me at 0900 this morning and I had the following interview with him.

[Unidentified announcer] Well, let us introduce Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik, let us remind you that he was appointed Russian procurator general, and I would like to say for myself that Aleksey Ivanovich has in the past worked very closely with our offices when he was a

USSR people's deputy—he represented Omsk Oblast back in the union parliament. Let us hear from him.

[Kazannik] What struck me? With the overall slump in production...[passage indistinct].

[Fedorov] Aleksey Ivanovich, people remembered you for the noble way you acted when you gave up your seat in the Supreme Soviet to Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin. To get to know you, tell us something about yourself by way of introduction.

[Kazannik] I would straightaway like to say that what happened at the First Congress of USSR People's Deputies is now history. We must look to the future. If you ask me to introduce myself, well my biography is a very short one—autobiography, to be exact. I was born in 1941 in Chernigov Oblast [Ukraine], Gorodnyanskiy Rayon, in the village of Perepis. As happened in such cases, I left school, graduated as a lawyer at Irkutsk State University, then I defended my doctorate thesis and obtained the academic title of professor. My last job was as head of the Department of State and Municipal Law at Omsk State University. At the same time I was chairman of the Committee for the Affairs of Ethnic Groups, Religion, and Public Associations of Omsk Oblast administration. [passage omitted]

[Fedorov] Aleksey Ivanovich, let us talk about now. I understand it is not easy for you as you have only just moved in, but criminal proceedings have been instituted in the work of the procuracy general, what stage are they at today, the second day of your appointment as procurator general?

[Kazannik] Indeed, criminal proceedings have been instituted regarding organized widespread disturbances, and they are at a preliminary stage of investigation. Sanctions have been imposed for the arrest of a number of individuals.

[Fedorov] To conclude, what is your assessment of what happened, as a lawyer and as a person?

[Kazannik] You know, as a person, I look at these things in a very simple way. I am profoundly convinced that you can never build a democratic, law-based state on blood and violence. It may be that some time will pass and a temple will be built on the blood where innocent people were killed. Believers will offer up a prayer to God that those who died may be left in peace and be free from the terrible injuries they have received, as the priests say. What happened was a terrible tragedy and with all the strength of my convictions—I would even say of humanism—I find it very difficult to make sense of it.

But now, to speak about it from the point of view of the Russian procuracy general, when I visited the White House I looked upon it as I would upon an incident where certain investigations to determine and record traces of a crime were being carried out.

[Unidentified Announcer] I would like to apologize to our listeners for certain technical hitches, but for my part—and I should add for all those who know Aleksey Ivanovich Kazannik well—I think that everyone believes that no form of extremism will go unpunished now.

Shakhray Reportedly Considers Resignation

LD0610192693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Vice-Premier Sergey Shakhray may resign. This news came from participants in the conference of the leaders of representative and executive branches of Federation constituent members.

In the words of one participant, "grave concern over the situation, disagreement with the rash personnel decisions, distaste for euphoria, anxiety over the dissolution at one go of all soviets (councils) instead of reforming each of them stage by stage, and finally, the tactless cancellation of a session of the Federation Council have compelled Shakhray to consider resignation." According to this participant, Shakhray made this clear at the conference.

In his words, the basic group of delegates advised that Shakhray "would not shut the door with a bang." It asked him to refrain from such resolute actions so that he could "influence the government's regional policy effectively."

Cabinet Presidium Cancels Session for 'Day of Mourning'

LD0710075593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0701 GMT 7 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Ivan Ivanov]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Oct—A regular session of the Presidium of the Russian Federation Council of Ministers scheduled for today has been cancelled in connection with the day of mourning for the funeral of Russian citizens killed thwarting the armed attempt at a coup d'etat on 3-4 October of this year.

Today's session of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers was supposed to study a draft of the Russian Federation civil code, a draft of a targeted development program for fisheries and the fishing industry, as well as some transport matters.

Government Commission Evaluates White House Damage

LD0610135893 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1127 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] A government commission chaired by Vice Premier Yuriy Yarov and supervising the taking over of organizations and agencies by the Council of Ministers has visited the Russian White House building to assess the damage done to it.

Sources in the cabinet told Interfax that complete evaluation will take several days but an early assessment will be reported at the commission meeting scheduled to be held in the Staraya Ploshchad building at 15:00 Wednesday [6 October].

The commission members came to a conclusion that repair should be carried out simultaneously in the parliament building, mayor's office, Mir Hotel and the Ostankino TV Center. Numerous western companies have offered their services in this work. But because the White House is managed by certain rules, foreign companies will not participate in the repair work proper. Equipment may be purchased from them.

The repairs of the White House, which by a presidential decree of October 6 will become the official government residence, will probably be done by the Mospromstroy (Moscow industrial construction) agency.

Parliament Funds To Aid Children's Institutions

PM0610132393 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed untitled report under the "At the Center of Attention" rubric]

[Text] Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin has signed a government decree in accordance with which the financial resources of the former Russian Federation Supreme Soviet's fund for social support of the population worth 2,498.7 million rubles are being released and channeled into the provision of one-shot material state aid for Russian children's institutions during 1993. Over 100 children's homes, shelters, sanatoriums, and boarding schools located all over Russian territory are on the list.

Parties Distance Themselves From Coup Organizers

PM0610134793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Unattributed report: "No Excuse for Armed Violence"]

[Text] Moscow, 4 Oct—Most of Russia's political parties backed the executive's actions to varying degrees, while almost everyone, including many recent supporters, dissociated themselves from those who instigated recent events.

Thus, the Free Russia People's Party [FRPP] created by Aleksandr Rutskoy unequivocally condemned its leader's actions. A statement circulated last night by FRPP Board Chairman Vasilii Lipitskiy and several board members said that "there are not and there cannot be any political goals that would justify armed violence," "those who incited people to bloody provocation crossed the dividing line between politics and crime."

A statement by the Moscow regional branch of the FRPP is couched in even tougher terms. "We resolutely condemn the actions taken by the White House leaders

under the thumb of 'Working Moscow' leaders, Anpilov's men, and other fascist elements who unleashed the bloody events of 3 October 1993," it says. In this situation the Moscow branch of the FRPP supports the actions of the Moscow Government to restore order in the city. "Resolutely condemning A. Rutskoy's actions, we stress that we are still a parliamentary-type party, committed to the course of resolving any conflicts by political means," the statement noted.

The Free Russia Youth Movement [FRYM]—the FRPP's youth organization—is of the same opinion. "We do not agree with Rutskoy's actions and we consider it essential to state our non-confidence in the FRPP chairman," the FRYM statement says. The FRYM thinks that the Russian Government should be the main guarantor of the restoration of peace and tranquillity in the country.

The Democratic Party of Russia [DPR] voiced the same opinion; it originally formed part of the "Civic Union" bloc with the FRPP, but then left. The DPR categorically dissociated itself from its former ally, approving the actions taken by executive structures to restore order in Moscow. DPR leader Nikolay Travkin urged the head of government "to employ all levers of power, including strong-arm levers" to stop the bloodshed. DPR Board Chairman Valeriy Khomyakov told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that "we supported the existing regime despite our negative attitude toward the president."

The board of the "Political Equality" women's party called for an "end to the anarchy and sedition." "We women are convinced that the dangerous confrontation can only be overcome by civilized means and not by violence," the "Political Equality" party statement says, urging A. Rutskoy and R. Khasbulatov to think again.

The "Pamyat" national-patriotic front led by Dmitriy Vasilyev categorically condemned the "communist revanchist provocation perpetrated by the group of scoundrels and aggressors" and demanded that Boris Yeltsin "defend the interests of the state and the interests of the people." A "Pamyat" Central Council statement says that "Pamyat" still advocates a strong presidential authority—the "only guarantee of stability in the country."

"We demand that the president take the most resolute action to suppress communist-fascist excesses," a Christian-Democratic Party Political Council statement says.

Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's Liberal-Democratic Party [LDP] said that "it does not support either of the conflicting parties since both sides are violating the constitution and using armed forces." The most speedy reelection of both branches of power is the only way to break the deadlock, the LDP statement says.

Representatives of the "losing side" comment on events accordingly. Thus, former People's Deputy Mikhail Astafyev, leader of the Constitutional-Democratic Party-People's Freedom Party, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent that the "coup d'etat is entering its final stages."

"The rout of parliamentarianism in Russia is coming to an end," he said. "We will now enter the phase of brutal political repressions."

The Coordinating Council of "Shchit," the Russian Union for the Social-Legal Protection of Servicemen, Reservists, and their Families, today circulated a statement signed by Oleg Nikonov, chairman of the Coordinating Council and chief editor of the newspaper SHCHIT ROSSII [Shield of Russia]. The statement says in particular:

"Former Russian People's Deputy V.G. Urazhtsev, chairman of the 'Shchit' Union, ignored the collective opinion of the Coordinating Council as regards not supporting the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet leadership's policy of confrontation with the executive, usurped the right to adopt decisions, and totally discredited the 'Shchit' Union with his behavior.

"By its decision the Coordinating Council suspends the powers of the 'Shchit' Union chairman, in line with the provisions of its charter, and declares that all V.G. Urazhtsev's statements and actions are those of a private individual and should be viewed as a private initiative.

"The Coordinating Council urges all 'Shchit' Union members to back the Russian president's statement and the government's actions to restore constitutional order in Moscow and provide all possible aid to organs of law and order and the Armed Forces."

Party of Economic Freedom Holds Extraordinary Congress

LD0610145893 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1354 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anna Melnikova]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Representatives from the Party of Economic Freedom's regional divisions met in an extraordinary congress here on Wednesday [6 October]. Attending the congress are 76 out of the 107 representatives of regional divisions.

The principal item on the agenda is the upcoming elections. The congress expects to adopt a political resolution, to approve the party's election platform and to discuss its election tactics.

A political report at the opening meeting of the congress was delivered by the party's co-chairman Konstantin Borovoy. He said "In order to carry much weight in the would-be parliament, we should form an alliance with other parties of liberal democratic orientation, most likely with the bloc "New Russia" or with the Russian Movement for Democratic Reforms".

Borovoy expressed fears that "today's situation in Russia is not yet a victory by democratic forces". He said he hoped that censorship and "other restrictions on democratic freedoms are caused by the state of emergency". The speaker stressed that if this state of affairs

does not change shortly, "it will not be correct to speak about democratic elections for a new parliament, and the Party of Economic Freedom will not take part in the elections under such circumstances".

Advisor Evaluates Rutskoy's Mistakes

LD0610143993

[Editorial Report] London ITV Television Network in English at 1800 GMT on 5 October in the "Channel 4 News" program carries an 8-minute report by correspondent Nick Gowing in Moscow, on Rutskoy's attempts to gain power from Yeltsin—including an interview with Andrey Fedorov, advisor to Aleksandr Rutskoy.

The report opens with shots of Fedorov viewing the site surrounding the White House after the end of the siege, followed by footage of Rutskoy taking the presidential oath on 21 September.

Fedorov, speaking in English, begins: "The main mistake was done when Mr. Rutskoy declared himself an acting president. We all, all our staff was strongly against this, and I came to the studio when he was trying to record his message and we said he better not do this thing because it is a mistake, but he decided, he said that I discussed this issue with Khasbulatov, that I decided, it's my decision, and I'm taking all the responsibility on my shoulders."

Gowing then asks: "You advised him against it?"

Fedorov replies: "Not only me, all our staff members."

The report then shows both Rutskoy and Khasbulatov at a candle-lit parliament session, along with shots of rebel fighters inside the White House. Fedorov continues: "I think, yes, there was some personal element, very strong personal elements."

Gowing asks: "Hate?"

Fedorov continues: "Yes hate, the people hated each other, it was clear, it was visible."

Gowing then asks: "So it wasn't just about democracy and preserving parliament?"

Fedorov replies: "But it started with this idea to preserve democracy and to preserve the parliament."

The report continues by showing the scenes of demonstrators surrounding the White House, and army personnel. Fedorov continues: "The things which started after 28 September, many of them were organized outside of the White House, even sometimes without any connection with the White House, with the parliament, with Khasbulatov or with Rutskoy."

Gowing then asks: "Who was organizing these events?"

Fedorov replies: "This is extremist groups, extremist groups."

Gowing then asks: "They were trying to capitalize on the situation?"

Fedorov replies: "Yes."

The report continues by showing public meetings held in support for the radical deputies.

Fedorov then continues: "It was told by us [to] both Mr. Rutskoy and Khasbulatov after this idea of having strikes etc. on 27 and 28 September failed, it was clear that there will be no massive support."

Gowing interrupts: "No public support?"

Fedorov continues: "No public support."

The report continues by showing public demonstrations by extremist groups held on 2 October. Fedorov continues: "I've seen there some people from this Labor Russian Movement, from Tajikistan from [word indistinct] from other cities, who are known as quite extremist."

The report continues by showing the 3 October demonstration, and Rutskoy addressing a crowd. Fedorov continues: "He was thinking that it's a real [as heard] hundreds of thousands who are supporting, who are ready to fight, who are ready to bring law and order according to his visions to Moscow."

Gowing then asks: "And are you suggesting at that moment essentially that he flipped?"

Fedorov replies: "I think it's the key moment for the understanding of the further development of the situation."

Gowing says: "He miscalculated?"

Fedorov responds: "Yes."

Gowing says: "He misread the situation?"

Fedorov responds over amateur video shots taken inside the White House: "Yes, yes, but when you are sitting for two weeks in the White House, you are not able to calculate everything, and you are not able to see the real picture."

The program concludes by showing the parliament building following the end of the siege.

Newspaper Reaction to Storming of White House, Elections

Leaders' Intention To Run in Election Questioned

PM0710090793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition p 5

[Irina Demchenko report under the "Russia Faces a Choice" rubric: "We Will Not Withstand Another Parliamentary Experiment"—first paragraph is IZVESTIYA introduction]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Today we are launching the rubric "Russia Faces a Choice," in which we will try to

introduce you to the broadest possible spectrum of parties and movements, of the political elites determining the disposition of forces in the regions and in the center. In addition, we will discuss the problems associated with the infrastructure of elections—how they are organized and financed, the structure of future organs of federal administration, and so on.

The leader of the Association of Privatized and Private Enterprises Investments Department telephoned the editorial office and asked us to help the organizing committee of the "Russia's Choice" electoral bloc to compile a list of candidate deputies for the State Duma. Both organizations are headed by First Vice Premier Yegor Gaydar. According to Yekaterina Ilyubiyeva, who made the call, "Russia's Choice" is encountering difficulties in compiling the part of the list that should include "second-echelon" economists and jurists.

Yekaterina Ilyubiyeva told us that the bloc's list of candidate deputies is headed by Yegor Gaydar, Anatoliy Chubays, Vladimir Shumeyko, Sergey Yushenkov, Sergey Shakhrai, and Petr Filippov. When I asked her who will remain in the government if the vice premiers (including two first vice premiers) directly responsible for implementing the economic reform are elected to the parliament, Yekaterina Ilyubiyeva said that the bloc's leadership deems it necessary to urgently form functioning structures in the new parliament and that, once they are operating normally, it will be possible to return to the government again. "This probably will not take long," she said.

This conversation took place a few hours before the start of the bloody events in Moscow, which may compel the government party to review its concept of participating in the elections and in the future parliament. But, on the other hand, was it really necessary to shed blood in order to start drawing obvious conclusions?

The status of both the Russian parliament in the months prior to the October putsch and the former Union parliament before the 19 August 1991 putsch is, in addition to anything else, a direct consequence of the presidential team's wrong policy aimed at drawing the most professional and democratically minded deputies away from representative and into executive power structures. In all probability it was indeed the deputies who switched to work in government and presidential structures, rather than their colleagues remaining in the Supreme Soviet, who were better qualified to take up the senior posts now occupied by Sergey Shakhrai, Vladimir Shumeyko, Sergey Yushenkov, and Petr Filippov. However, after their transfer to the presidential team, the Supreme Soviet was left under the full control of conservative forces, sufficiently large to form a critical fascist-communist mass not in some kind of peripheral micro-party, but in the supreme organ of legislative power. The intention of these same people to lightheartedly seek election to parliament again, with the prospect of an early return to their places in the government, looks that much more irresponsible today!

Some people may perceive this as healthy pragmatism. But in my view, it is neither healthy nor pragmatic. In the last four years alone, two parliaments have already succeeded in bringing our country to the brink of catastrophe, and both have ended their activity ignominiously. The image of the Russian Supreme Soviet drowning in its own intrigues and in feeble attempts to hold onto power, drenching the streets of Moscow in blood will, it seems, leave its mark on the whole future history of parliamentarianism in this country. The country will not withstand yet another such organ: The old guard may hang around for a while yet, but the people have had enough.

Columnist Pleads for 'Human Magnanimity'

PM0610152593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Albert Plutnik: "4 October Is Not a Day of Victory. It Is a Day of Our Tragedy; According to Preliminary Data 59 People Died and 477 Were Wounded During Armed Clashes in Moscow 3-5 October. Reports of the Number of Casualties During the Storming of the White House Are Being Clarified"]

[Text] Quiet, ladies and gentlemen, quiet! It is not worth summing up the results of dyarchy loudly and excitedly. Shouts of rejoicing and roars of approval are, to say the least, inappropriate and mistimed—over the freshly dug graves of the still unburied victims of an unprecedented outbreak of violence suppressed by retaliatory violence.

On this occasion fragments of civil war appeared before us not from the accounts of eyewitnesses and participants. Not from battlefield reports coming from somewhere in the Dniester Region or Abkhazia, Nagorno-Karabakh or Ossetia. We could see with our own eyes what was happening in Moscow, which suddenly became a frontline city and which also looked as if it were being rented out—only for a matter of days, let us hope—for a civil war.

By the wonders of overseas technology, this war was brought to us in an on-the-spot live broadcast. Although it was at times waged in the presence of numerous "fans," who had taken up various standing seats outside the White House, it was a real war in which volleys of blanks were not being fired and people were killing for real.

The civil war appeared to be entirely conventional—with its unpredictability and normality. And, of course, with its extraordinary brutality. Long rows of hastily laid out bodies—this is what we saw. We saw people killed as if selectively, according to the unattainable whim of an invisible sniper, sitting tight somewhere on the roof and intuitively deciding exactly which one of those standing in the soldiers' ranks or the militia cordon to deprive of life. There was probably more logic in the special forces' actions in storming the White House—they were killing

according to the laws of wartime, for resisting the authorities and disobeying the order to surrender. But any brutality—whether logical or illogical—is still brutality.

Let us ponder the strikingly shared fate of all those people who are, I have no doubt, very different, who came into this world at different times but who departed it on the same day. Of those, some of whom ended their days on the stairs of the Moscow City Hall building, some in Ostankino's television production studio, some in the White House's "secret offices." They died on the same day, on the same October night of this 1993d year since the birth of Christ. Drowned in waves of social confrontation, which reflected a most acute confrontation between branches of power that tore Russia apart for so long. While not reconciling executioners with their victims but perhaps reconciling some people with others, this shared fate must, it seems, compel us to feel equal pity for both.

The deep schism at the top generated a schism in hearts and minds. Many people live in the erroneous belief that even to kill someone who says something wrong, who does not think the same as you, or who simply thinks, is to act justifiably and facilitate the establishment of public order and the arrival of the future desired for oneself and the entire people. Alas, how often we have a poor knowledge of those whom we consider to be our enemies, feeling hatred toward deserved compassion.

What still lies ahead is to seriously analyze exactly who took up arms under the banners of the soviets and what were the real reasons for the dissatisfaction with Russian authority.

But even now it is clear that October's harvest of hatred and bitterness was an exceedingly abundant one. Have pity on those who passed away. Young and old, left-wingers and right-wingers, Communists and anticommunists, military personnel and civilians, and professionals and amateurs from the diverse army of opposition, irrespective of the reasons that compelled them to take up arms, lofty or mundane reasons. Have pity on all those who were struck down by a bullet, from whichever side of the barricade it was fired, who died of wounds received in these tragic Moscow October days, or who were maimed. A sense of the irreplaceability of losses must awaken in our souls feelings that are far above vindictiveness and hard-heartedness.

Let us keep firmly in mind that there cannot be absolute victors in these battles. There is only a more or less favorable outcome that leaves a half-open door to the unclear future, which as of today looks more promising to us.

We will wait and see. There are fewer of us after these tragic events—of those who will be able to wait and see. It is for us to carry on living, to try to realize our potential, to gossip about what is and what will be, and to live by politics or other, nobler concerns. It is for them to lie in a grave, linked by the common result of participating in the struggle to restructure our society. Pushkin

wrote: "Everybody says there is no truth on Earth. But there is no truth even on high." Each died for his own truth. Let us forgive the dead for their views, delusive insights or deliberate delusions, for their bellicosity and gullibility, for everything they succeeded in doing and did not succeed in doing, fortunately or unfortunately. Everyone who can no longer find out what this hard road of knowing the truth, which we have taken and along which we are traveling will lead to, who cannot find out who won the long political confrontation, cut down by automatic weapons bursts from the opposition or tank salvos from government troops.

Let us forgive all those who are no longer alive. For whom everything is in the past or life is in the past. Both the most zealous supporters of democracy and the most irreconcilable defenders of totalitarianism. Have pity on them all. Let us banish from our consciousness the criminally superficial belief that there are people worth pitying and there are those undeserving of pity, that their own people should be pitied for a tiny scratch while others should not be pitied in their hour of death.

I do not want to urge society to put on a forced display of pity, but to mourn the dead universally. Everyone, I repeat, without exception. Let us pray for everyone—when our own and others' wounds are being counted, when the losses are being counted.

There is an ancient tradition of forcing everyone at once, if only for a moment, to think about the most important thing in their own and our common fate. This custom is to pray for the dead and fallen in a minute's silence. We talk so much that sometimes even a minute's silence, just one minute for looking deep into ourselves and for grief, this very short pause in the hustle and bustle of our existence is all it takes to sense the madness of our passions, to understand many things, and to forgive.

So let us take the trouble on a day of mourning and grief to turn away from passions and show human magnanimity, an abstract humanism, if you like. This will be a step, however small, toward national reconciliation. Not yet toward civic peace, but toward conciliation in society and in human souls troubled and disturbed by the spectacle of the tragedy that unfolded. Let us fall silent. Let us repent. And let us carry on living with hope and belief.

Casualties From Reckless Firing Deployed

PM0610154593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition pp 1, 3

[Report by Valeriy Yarov: "Troops at the White House Fired on Anything That Moved"]

[Text] On the morning of 5 October, firemen were continuing their main work in the vicinity of the White House, which had been reduced to a charred shell overnight by raging flames. The entire area around parliament was crammed with military hardware and

army and internal troops subunits. Residents of adjacent apartment blocks remain fearful. And not without reason.

We drove up to the parliament building early on Tuesday morning with virtually no problems. On the "Trekhgorki" [familiar name for "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" plant] side there was no cordon; soldiers and armored vehicles were clustered outside the White House itself, field kitchens were preparing breakfast, and servicemen, while waiting for their porridge, watched the firemen trying to cope with the fire that was still raging in the windows of the parliament. Work was also found for the firemen in the neighboring buildings, which had suffered not only from the previous day's fighting, but also from the subsequent hunt for snipers.

We watched the firemen finish putting out the fire in an apartment on the top floor of Apartment Block No. 11/5 on Rochdelskaya Ulitsa—about 100 meters from the parliament. One room in the communal apartment had been completely gutted, together with all the property inside; the owners had fled from the gunfire with their child the day before and gone to stay with relatives. In the neighboring room walls, furniture, and the television set were charred. In the only surviving armchair an old woman—90-year-old Marya Petrovna Mogutina—sat on her own. She had been saved in the night by a neighbor from another room whose windows give onto the courtyard; the neighbor smelled the smoke, looked out into the corridor, and seeing the flames, went to knock on the old woman's door. The fire broke out because during the night several tracer bullets flew through the windows of the apartment and embedded themselves in the furniture and the walls, which happened to be wooden. We saw four holes made by these bullets in the wall above Marya Petrovna's bed.

The old woman herself simply did not comprehend what had happened. But her neighbor just sighed heavily; throughout the recent days he has been glad that his windows do not give onto the street, and, consequently, he does not have to sit in the toilet or bathroom, "sharing" this domestic bullet shelter with his neighbors from the communal apartment. But disaster found a way in, and has hit everyone here.

We managed to ascertain that the upper floors of the apartment block were fired on by soldiers from the subunits cordoning off parliament. A sniper had allegedly made his presence known on the roof; true, he did not open fire, but he had made "certain movements" against the background of the night sky. In the extraordinary conditions prevailing here the young soldiers had no time to establish who was moving about up there—a lone gunman or a prowling tomcat—and opened fire immediately. And in earnest. Don't spare the bullets—this is war. And that bullets hit the upper stories as well as the roof—well, as they say, that is the downside of street fighting and military expertise.

Upper floors near the scene of the events suffered pretty heavily in Moscow during the past 24 hours, and especially in the dark. In the daytime, during the storming of parliament, I saw for myself soldiers peppering the upper floors with rounds of bullets just because they saw some kind of movement on the balconies or in the windows—they feared snipers, of whom there were indeed plenty on the roofs.

The fact that quite ordinary citizens possess the ability to move about and look out from curiosity was far from always taken into account by the soldiers. It is hard to blame them for this: No one has taught them how to fight in the streets of the Russian capital among peaceful Russian citizens. And no one explained clearly how the White House differs from a dwelling house.

Junior officers still tried somehow to take stock of the situation before pulling the trigger; meanwhile the senior officers were cursing over the quantity of commands and commanding officers setting them "tasks."

Everything which happened reminded me—and still does—of some kind of impromptu fire display in which people act first, and think afterward. The storming of the White House which had been talked about all week and had, it was assumed, been ruled out, which should at least theoretically have been planned down to the minutest detail, was in the final analysis played out "by ear," using people absolutely unprepared for this.

/The soldiers did everything that they could, and fulfilled all their orders/ [words between slantlines published in boldface].

The fact that these orders were sometimes senseless is not the fault of the privates, but the fault of those who gave them. I do not think that we will ever manage to discover specific names. Just as it has still been impossible to discover where the specialized subunits who are so fond of masks and chevrons, of mystery and enigmatic names—"Alpha," "Beta," "Gamma," and so forth—got to in all this.

Well, "Alpha," at least, captured the chiefs of the parliamentary citadel—true, only after the Army had forced them to hang out the white flag. And what were the rest of them doing? Were they guarding the dachas of the government command authorities, or looking after their own chiefs?

Why is it the Army that has been hunting for snipers in the capital with all its characteristic gusto for 48 hours now, rather than specialists in disarming terrorists? They would have distinguished a resident at the window from a gunman on the roof (to judge from all the interviews given by the "specials" before the events).

Why did the Moscow militia not cordon off—and they are still not cordoning off—the scenes of the shoot-out from all the curious citizens who rushed to take a look at the "fire" and were hit by stray bullets? MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] officers have plenty of experience

cutting off the press from the scene of events and searching journalists. And confiscating film also. (Our photographer barely managed to dissuade a zealous major, who began demanding our film because we were photographing the corpses that had still not been cleared away in the vicinity of the White House. The day before the same OMON [Special Purpose Militia Detachment] officer exposed OGONEK photographer Petrukhina's entire reel, which he had filmed under fire at the risk of his own life).

...By the entrance into the house where the fire broke out from the stray bullets lies a dead boy. In the night soldiers took him for a gunman trying to steal toward the armored vehicles. If the militia and the specialist subunits continue to transfer the control over the situation in the city onto the shoulders of the Army, who knows how many more passersby and citizens venturing to stir will be taken for gunmen?

Or written off as such.

Self-Appointed 'Mediators' Criticized

PM0610141793 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Otto Latsis article: "Mediation in Politics Proved Very Advantageous for Many People"]

[Text] You cannot get away from it: When you worry about Russia's future structure, you cannot help thinking about its previous and present disorder, which led to the bloody Sunday of 3 October.

What blindness and deafness affected so many clever politicians, who stubbornly refused to see the approaching ogre of violence? After all, it did not even think of hiding, it acted under the wing of the law, privatized by the deputies. The National Salvation Front, which prevailed in parliament, subsequently recreated structures of a totalitarian society, which we know so well from the experience of our whole past lives. And this activity was enthusiastically seen by many to be only one of several equally valid options for a political position, lawful in a democratic society, or as an element of the normal contest between the legislature and the executive.

And when the struggle between reaction and reforms became particularly acute, discussions were started to the effect that confrontation is no good and that both sides should make concessions. For some reason, it was always one side that conceded: Well, what else could we do, anything else would be awkward: We are democrats after all. This was particularly obvious at sittings of the "roundtable," where the two sides (parliament-government) were formally on an equal footing, but which in actual fact was completely controlled by R. Khasbulatov's apparatus.

What the majority of Russians supported—both at elections and at referendums, and indeed at the barricades,

was put on a par with what most Russians rejected. Then mediators appeared, who began to actively "reconcile" the "two sides" that they themselves had invented. The most unforgettable examples of this activity were provided by Constitutional Court Chairman Valeriy Zorkin at the December Congress of People's Deputies, when he put forward an initiative for a trilateral agreement, which immediately raised him above the "sides": B. Yeltsin and R. Khasbulatov. It was not only the president's opponents, but many of his supporters who applauded, chasing away any awkward thoughts that the status of two "corners" of this triangle were highly dubious: The speaker is by no means the equal of the nationally elected president, and the chairman of the court is banned by law from such activity.

Incidentally, now that it has become completely obvious to everyone that V. Zorkin was not an impartial mediator but a direct ally of one of the sides, it can be noted that a double standard was applied in the activity of the organization he heads. V. Zorkin's direct interference in politics provided legal grounds for terminating his membership in the Constitutional Court, but nothing of the sort happened. Instead, just before "bloody Sunday," the membership of Judges N. Vitruk and E. Ametistov was terminated because they had been absent from four sittings without sufficient grounds. I am not a lawyer, but the request made beforehand by the president to the Constitutional Court to refrain from holding court sittings seems to me to be more than sufficient grounds. If the court had displayed the necessary restraint, then maybe those who unleashed gunmen on an unarmed Moscow a few days later might also have been more careful.

Meanwhile, during those days it seemed to a great many people that in politics, just like in business, it is most advantageous of all to be the middleman. A whole cohort of politicians, of a very low caliber as a rule, both on a personal level and from the point of view of national support, began to bustle about, making offers of mediatory services, "reconciliation," and the organization of "zero" options and other such things. These options very frequently placed a genuinely great political figure—the president, who is supported by the results of more than one national referendum—on a par with imaginary great figures. This did not worry the mediators for one obvious reason: It seemed to them that they themselves were acquiring the greatest political importance by standing above both sides.

In politics, as in business, losses are just as likely as profits. Everyone remembers how actively V. Lipitskiy, chairman of the Free Russia People's Party ("Rutskists"), proposed reconciliation with the hard-line opposition. After 21 September he spoke out bluntly against the decree on elections to the State Duma. As V. Kryuchkov, a Free Russia People's Party activist, informed the editorial office, a group of board members demanded his resignation at the 4 October sitting of the party board. As a result it was decided that the chairman and the whole board would resign. If this decision was approved by

regional organizations, the preparation for the upcoming party congress would be carried out by the organizational committee headed by two cochairmen, and therefore, two platforms. The congress would be faced with choosing what it considers correct, rather than effecting a reconciliation.

In today's tense situation, it may be worth making a proviso that would not be necessary in peaceful times: Naturally, I am not opposed to reconciliation, compromises, and so on. When people are shooting outside your windows, you particularly want peace. I am opposed to people making the idea of national accord into the object of trade.

Editor Evaluates Violent Events

MK0710092593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 1

[Article by Vitaliy Tretyakov, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA editor in chief, "canceled by censorship from 6 October 1993 NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA": "Today's Alternative and How We Have Been Moving Toward It"]

[Text] Several days after the terrifying events of Saturday and Sunday and several hours after the storming of the parliament building, one can not only discard spontaneous and perfectly understandable emotions, but also move to a more or less calm analysis of what has happened.

It has been announced that the opposition's actions on Saturday and Sunday were "a carefully considered and well planned action." It is hard to disagree with this. But then the question arises: What prevented—as the White House was encircled and warnings were coming from the press (I am not talking about information from special services)—making preparations so that the armed confrontation which became inevitable after 21 September could be matched with measures ensuring the toughest possible but effective blocking of anti-presidential actions?

There seem to be three answers. The flywheel of confrontation between the parliament and the president, with both sides unwilling to make concessions, finally split society in all of its sections and state institutions. Events began to unfold according to their own scenario whose source lies in the approach to the referendum results along the lines of "winners vs. losers."

Second. Moscow, just like any other normal European capital with its people, militia, residential areas, and traditions (including political ones), is organically unsuitable for any large scale (I am judging by the size of the White House) forceful actions. Therefore, having once included the possibility of such an action into the inventory of their struggle, the politicians embarked down the road leading to bloodshed.

Third. The strange night on Sunday. The attempt to seize the television center; the blackout of Channel 1; the

constant reports through Ekho Moskvy and Russian television about the unbelievably long (under those conditions) session of the Defense Ministry collegium; the absence of the president on the screens of the still functioning television channel (though CNN nonetheless broadcast to the West his arrival at the Kremlin aboard a helicopter); the streets of Moscow along which one could get to any point in the city without hindrance, including to Staraya Ploshchad and its complex of government buildings; the appeal from Yegor Gaydar to unarmed Muscovites to come to the Moscow City Hall building and defend the government—all this shows that during these hours someone was waiting (for the capture of Ostankino? for the appearance of opposition leaders on the air?), using precision scales to gauge the direction of their moves. Clearly this was not the government (those who saw its members in those hours testify that they were totally at a loss). Apparently neither was this the president—since with the presence of an "acting president" he could only advocate active and rapid actions. Then the army? Was it wavering at that moment?

These were very dangerous vacillations. It is dangerous when the military decides on a political question. It is also dangerous because having once made a decision for someone, it reserves the right to define the subsequent course of events (in this respect forecasts for the course of elections turn into fantasies on a more or less free subject). Next, the imposition of a state of emergency, the storming of parliament, the indiscriminate closure of all opposition papers, the imposition of censorship in some of those that remained, the constant revisions (downward) of the number of those killed, and so on and so forth—all this occurs automatically, whatever bright ideas might be flashing in the minds of those playing their roles in a play long known to the entire world. The point is not to call fascists fascists and even not to dub nonfascists fascists. Not to catch all the armed combatants in a city with a multimillion population. And not to ensure the support (more or less sincere) of the Federation components. The question is what to do with the intransigent, silent, "vanquished" citizens of Russia who somehow or other sympathized with the ideas pronounced from the parliament rostrum? The objective scenario—in spite of the will of politicians—is ruthless. It does not allow for any other choice except the dilemma: civil war or authoritarian executive rule. It is clear which is preferable. But have we really been preparing ourselves for this choice over the last few years? And what will be the meaning of this choice to the fate of many specific individuals? I do not believe that it was not possible to avoid this, only this choice.

I have never hated the West. Moreover, I am rather an admirer. I am not, however, an idealist. The government of any country is most concerned about the fate of its own country and not of some "Asiatic Russia." Many Western journalists in Moscow can confirm that when they asked me how, in my opinion, Western governments would relate to the bloodshed in Moscow, I

responded quite naturally: What is there to worry about—several hundred corpses of Russian aborigines. These are not two Italians who died in Rome or three Frenchmen in Paris or five Americans in New York. These are our citizens. Moreover, there can be victims in the interests of democracy and the struggle against communism if the opposition decides to stage an open revolt.

Madmen as well as sensible people from the opposition took a risk. Their guilt is immeasurable. Does this pacify the West? I am happy for the West. But I am not happy for Russia. Because having once started living according to the norms of freedom—maybe even going a bit too far with introducing these norms—we should have used them as guidelines for action. These are the rules of the game, if one wants freedom and democracy in the first place.

It is the easiest thing to say that it will not work; the country is not the right one; the traditions are wrong; the opposition is stupid, malicious, and irrational.... The easy road has come to an end. For everyone. Including the democrats gradually leaving parliament—one by one. You have left the places which were taken up by madmen. Why then did you promise your electors to make parliament a buttress of reforms? In order that today we could see its burned out building?

Media Issues

Shumeyko Comments on Media Censorship, Recent Events

LD0710042293 Moscow Radio Rossii Network in Russian 1248 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] [Announcer] We would like to offer you an excerpt of a speech made by Russian First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Filippovich [Shumeyko]—an excerpt of a speech made literally an hour and a half ago at the All-Russian State Television and Radio Company.

[Begin Shumeyko recording in progress] ...it was rather a difficult night because the behavior of people, and not even strictly speaking their behavior but rather their lives depended on the decisions made. And the actions that we took together did in the end help to prevent this fire started in Moscow from spreading throughout the territory of Russia.

It is to you that one should bring the gratitude of all Russians, and, as first deputy prime minister of the government, I probably have some right to express this gratitude to you on behalf of the government and all the people of Russia. Gratitude for the fact that we had the news right through the night and under unbelievably difficult conditions. What you did that night, taking up as it were the entire news field as people like to call it, after the destruction of Ostankino, will of course go down in history—whatever the interpretations put on it. But even today, one can say that it was a great feat.

Unfortunately, these events have not yet finished. Unfortunately, the state of emergency declared by the president and imposed until 10 October of this year continues. Unfortunately, a curfew has been imposed. Unfortunately, the curfew is because of the situation. A decree by the president has come out on additional measures for the state of emergency and it states directly that we need, that the Ministry of Press and Information and the television and radio companies need, to begin explaining to the whole population of the Russian Federation the state of emergency measures and the curfew and so on. They must explained.

But now alarming [word indistinct] appeared that in the light of these emergency measures censorship is being introduced. Yes, indeed, this accords with the law on the state of emergency, namely Article 4, point b, which states that when a state of emergency is introduced because of a seizure of power, because of mass unrest accompanied by human casualties and so on... [pauses] and then there is Article 24, which states that the commandant has the right to introduce censorship, preliminary censorship, on all the mass media. My colleagues and I have all reached the conclusion that we should limit ourselves to self-censorship, the self-censorship of journalists, editors, and [word indistinct] and so on as to what is necessary in Russia today and what is not. In addition to this, the commandant retains one single right: In the case of a direct call for the overthrow of state power, in the case of a direct call for the whipping up of national or political strife, he has the right to seize a publication that has gone out. In other words, anyone who prints such a direct appeal will suffer colossal financial losses and so on.

Some people say that when we had the CPSU, they had the Ideology Department, they had a department where qualified people were occupied with nothing but ideology from morning to night, and paid wages for this. Today we have no ideology and we have no right to introduce it and so on. But let us consider the word itself. Ideology is from the word idea. And we have an idea. The idea of Russia's revival as a mighty state, a multinational state with a centuries-old culture and enormous human, material, and other kinds of potential. The idea is Russia. Such patriotism is healthy and we need to believe that Russia will enter the 21st century as a most powerful state in the world. The idea is that we have everything in Russia to achieve this. This is the idea of revival and it is taking hold of our society, it has already taken hold of all the sensible people in Russia to a sufficient extent. This idea means that we should revive Russia as a new democratic state that is still Russia all the same.

And ideology should derive from this word idea. In the absence of such ideology departments as the Central Committee and all the rest of them, who, if not us, is going to carry this idea to the masses? No one. Therefore, the Ministry of Press and Information itself, the two

television and radio companies, the information agencies and newspaper editorial offices, they are the ones who should promote this idea in society.

How long will this state of emergency last? You know, it has been set until 10 October. But it may yet be extended. And, generally speaking, why do we need this state of emergency and so on? As the preliminary investigation has shown today—and it is being carried out already and the Procuracy has started proceedings on all these cases—this action was deliberately executed, planned in advance, and precisely coordinated. Everyone was briefed and knew what he was supposed to do, his place, and so on. According to this plan, it should have been like this; all those snipers and the splinter groups that still remain were intended to be so, in accordance with the plan. A whole number of terrorist acts and all their subsequent moves to exacerbate the situation were planned by them.

Take these funerals. Such a loss of all those citizens for Russia and the state. At last night's count there were some 127 killed and 458 injured and admitted to hospitals. There are nearly 150 killed—there are still some basements in the White House that are not cleared out yet, so to speak. Everything is mined there—evidently, by professionals. Now it will take a long time to clear it. And we cannot get the dead out—we can see from a distance that bodies are floating in the water in the flooded basements, but we cannot remove them because everything down there is just a mine field. This just shows how and why all this was done and by whom.

Anyway, this state of emergency will continue until the last of them remaining here in Moscow is neutralized. This is our present-day task. Because people should have peace. The curfew is aimed against the criminals. And, incidentally, here is the most interesting fact from last night: During the curfew not a single car was stolen. This is the first time in all Moscow history, the first night without a stolen car. So, there are some positive results as well. [laughter]

There were 862 people detained, out of which two thirds were the people whom I was talking about, those who should be detained. More will be detained in due course. As soon as the city is cleaned up, all this will immediately be lifted and stopped. It should be understood that all this is being done in the interests of the city and its people. Those militants who fought on the side of the so-called Supreme Soviet, they are still being hunted down. For example, one of these was arrested in Lyubertsy carrying an automatic weapon. He was already wanted for killing his wife and was on the run from the law for a long time and, eventually, was caught with this weapon and with 72 cartridges on him as well. When questioned, he said he received these weapons as a defender of the White House.

And here is another aspect to this. There will be a funeral ceremony. I already said that for us they will all be just Russian people. All of those killed, even the criminals.

These are the Russians who met their untimely death. God created them for living and doing something worthwhile with their lives. And they were killed against God's will. So, the state provides money for each one's funeral absolutely in equal measure, but we shall honor the dead each according to his own.

You understand, for some people nothing is sacred. We already know that there are plans to use these funerals for raising the tide again, for starting to blame the president and the executive power for being responsible for the death of these people, calling them killers and using these funerals for their political aims. I am even reluctant to use this word political. I cannot comprehend their aims. You have already seen the situation, reacted to it, you have watched it all.

Take any normal, sensible politician. Suppose he holds out to the end and has decided that he will fight to the end and so be it. And here are all these so-called leaders sitting in this building. One of them calls himself a president and issues orders and instructions. These orders are taking hold of the people, and he is holding on to the end. OK, you hold on to the end and make this clear. You wait and see how society reacts to this. It reacts in one way or the other. You see that there is no support and nobody comes to your aid. You have tried everything, been through everything. But when the tanks have already surrounded the White House—if you are a real leader—you should by then understand the situation. The tanks are here. It is all over. You should be hoisting a white flag, letting people out while they are still alive. OK, you did not comprehend the tanks. The first shots are fired from the cannon into the windows. If prior to this shot you still did not get what was going on, at least after the first shot you should be coming out with the white flag—no one is killed yet, now is the time. Let all those people out, let them stay alive—if you are a real leader, if you call yourself a politician. Even this they did not manage.

Why destroy everything, why cause all these casualties? What was it all for? Why did all these people have to die? People who are guilty of nothing but just letting themselves being led inside there. Some would say: Well, they did not control the situation, they became hostages of such and such, and so on. Well, in such a case you have no right to call yourself anything. Get out yourself, alone, or shoot yourself, or surrender. I do not know. I do not want to talk about the moral fiber of these people, about what has happened. You yourself will have to judge all this, and I hope society will make its judgement too. [end recording]

Defines Limits of Censorship

LD0610122993 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1136
GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Ivanova]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeiko has described the attempt to introduce preliminary censorship as the "excesses of

the first days." Shumeyko, appointed recently as the minister of press and information of the Russian Federation, spoke before the collegium of the ministry today.

In his opinion and in accordance with the resolution of the collegium, the state of emergency calls for the self-censorship of journalists for the sake of ensuring tranquility and order.

Shumeyko said that, strictly in accordance with the law, Moscow commandant Aleksandr Kulikov has the right to arrest any mass media organ, which allowed itself direct appeals for the overthrow of the state system, the kindling of inter-ethnic and social strife and other illegal actions, which fall under Article 4 of the law on the mass media.

"No one is going to create censorship committees," he said. "however, if the law is violated, the response will be immediate." According to Shumeyko, this does not mean any restrictions on the rights of journalists. It is only direct appeals, but not an analysis or a commentary, that will be the reason for taking tough measures, up to the closing down of a publication. He said that special investigation would be conducted into the activities of the DEN newspaper and some other publications, which "went to the extremes" and actually became one of the organisers of the developments of October 3 and 4.

According to Shumeyko, he agreed to discharge the duties of the minister of the press and information, "because the situation required it," but it is not a permanent post for him. He believes he will be replaced on this post by Mikhail Poltoranin, as soon as he is cleared of accusations, brought by the public prosecutor's office. In his opinion, the Russian Federal Information Centre will become part of the Ministry of the Press and Information, because "the branch cannot be managed from two centers."

Promotes 'New Ideology'

LD0610172193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1634 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—First Deputy Prime Minister Vladimir Shumeyko, appointed information minister, urged his ministry on Wednesday to promote the creation of a "new ideology" in mass media.

He told leaders of the ministry that this should be the ideology of a democratic Russian revival based on the spirit of patriotism, on the immense potential of the country, its spirituality and culture.

"It is impossible to do without it in constructing a new Russia", Shumeyko said.

Mass media which reflect the whole range of opinions in society could become the basis for the creation of a centrist ideological trend, for the development of the state and society, he stressed.

In the meantime, the unions of Russian and Moscow journalists protested on Wednesday against infringements on the freedom of the press and the introduction of censorship after the armed rebellion in Moscow.

"The very fact of introducing even short-term censorship showed once again the desire of politicians of any orientation to breach the law on mass media", the unions said in a statement.

They also protested against the suspension of several publications qualifying it as a violation of the same law. The law provides enough possibilities to cut short the distribution of false information, of calls to overthrow the state system, to instigate interethnic strife.

The unions blasted the Information Ministry which connived for a long time to the activities of pro-fascist publications.

In the current conditions mass media are to become the guarantor of holding free and democratic elections, according to the statement.

Official Explains Censorship Measures

MK0610131793 Moscow *MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian* 6 Oct 93 p 4

[Report by Lenochka Sorokina: "Sir, You Have White Spots All Over You. Censorship Has Been Imposed. Why?"]

[Text] The blank spots in yesterday's issues of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and SEGODNYA are due to the hasty imposition of censorship following the introduction of the state of emergency (Article 23, paragraph b). Censors from the Defense Ministry's Department for the Protection of Secrets in the Press have appeared in each publishing house. Lieutenant Colonel Yevseyev has appeared in our publishing house MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA. The censor proved absolutely unterrifying to MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, of which he is an admirer. He explained that until the state of emergency has been lifted, he is authorized to cancel any stories that may incite passions. It is possible to bring things to a state of civil war with the help of the fourth estate. Understandably, some papers like DEN and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA bear a considerable burden of responsibility for the victims of the October events.

Vladimir Solodin, chief of the Prior Censorship Directorate, explained that censor Gennadiy Korolev, who was placed in charge of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, deleted literally two lines in a story on Aman Tuleyev, where the former chairman of the Kemerovo City Executive Committee [as published] declares his love for the parliament and says that he is ready to defend the criminals from the White House. The newspaper's management decided to fully remove the story, which is reminiscent of hysterical foot stomping by an exalted lady. The censor also deemed it necessary to cancel a

story entitled "Two Million Hostages" about chemical plants in Moscow, considering that this material is like a powder keg.

In an interview with MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, Solodin explained that journalists can publish these stories after the state of emergency has been lifted, but for now the already high passions must not be excited further.

Official Announces End of 'Prior Censorship'

LD0610185593 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 93

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[Text] All journalists have been very concerned over the last few days by the decision to introduce censorship. Today, by decision of the Russian Government, the Information and Press Ministry adopted a new system for implementing censorship until the end of the state of emergency in Moscow.

In an interview to Vesti, Yuriy Luchinskiy, the head of the State Inspectorate for the Defense of the Freedom of the Press and Mass Information, admitted that the hasty introduction of preliminary censorship was not backed up with the appropriate criteria and normative documents. During the first two days this led to the censors being too strict in certain cases. From now on:

[Begin Luchinskiy recording] Prior censorship is not being used—there is no doubt about this. So-called punitive censorship, that is the use of effective measures against the mass media after an infringement of the law, is being used: First, strictly in accordance with Article 4 of the Law on the Mass Media. The only thing is, taking into account the state of emergency, the reaction mechanism to infringements is somewhat more speedy and strict. [end recording]

Luchinskiy explained that if, according to the law the state inspectorate was obliged to issue two warnings, then under the state of emergency an area commandant has the right to halt a publication's circulation for a first offense.

[Begin Luchinskiy recording] We are calling on—not in a demanding way, but in a spirit of cooperation—the editors of the mass media to come to our state inspectorate for immediate consultations on questions which interest them. [end recording] [Video shows plaque on wall of building reading "State Inspectorate for the Defense of the Freedom of the Press and Mass information under the auspices of the Russian Ministry of Press and Information: Moscow Regional Inspectorate"; interview with Luchinskiy]

Censorship Procedures, Results Detailed

MK0610152493 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 12

[Valeriy Pogorelyy report: "The Old Opposition Is Losing Its Influence"]

[Excerpts] The presidential team is continuing to take measures to stabilize the situation in Moscow. Valentin Stepankov, who did not inspire the trust of the democratic party, has been removed from his post as general prosecutor. The Moscow City Soviet has been dissolved (some of its deputies have been arrested), as well as the district soviets. Some papers have been published with blank spots on their pages (for instance, NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and SEGODNYA)—in places where the stories were canceled by censorship. The Moscow militia reported that during the first night of the curfew, not a single car was stolen.

Anything can be written about, except that which has been forbidden

The activity of the mass media is certainly capable of producing an extremely serious impact on the situation in the city as well as throughout the country. Therefore, quite naturally, one of the first steps by the executive branch under the state of emergency regulations has been the closure of the most odious opposition papers and the "600 Seconds" television program. The same reasons apparently account for the imposition of censorship. [passage omitted]

Nonetheless, many journalists are concerned that the Kremlin has not delineated a concrete framework for the activity of prior censorship and has not defined the "rules of the game." The absence of information about which materials may not be published opens possibilities for arbitrary actions by censors which exceed—paradoxically as this might be—even the possibilities of censors in the memorable days of Glavlit [Main Directorate for the Protection of State Secrets in the Press] since in those years censorship activity was regulated by a huge amount of secret rules and guidelines and the censor at least did not cancel stories at his own discretion.

The latter circumstance is all the more serious since it has transpired that there are not enough qualified specialists capable of vetting materials in the Information and Press Ministry. As a result, military censors are vetting stories in some publications. As KOMMERSANT-DAILY has been advised by the State Inspectorate for the Protection of Freedom of the Press and Mass Media under the Press and Information Ministry, censorship has been introduced only in Moscow, while in the regions the mass media organizations are operating without oversight.

Censors exercise oversight at the final stage of newspaper production. Premises in printing plants have been made available to them. This is why production capabilities do

not always allow substituting other materials for those that have been canceled. Yesterday morning NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA and SEGODNYA came out with blank spots on their pages in places where stories were deleted by censorship. As it became known later on, officers of the Information and Press Ministry have today canceled a report by Sergey Parkhomenko from SEGODNYA, which gives a critical assessment of events in the Kremlin Monday night—in particular the prolonged talks with the army bosses who could not make a decision to enter the city in spite of express orders. In NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA two stories were removed—an opinion by Aman Tuleyev, chairman of the Kemerovo Oblast Soviet, on the events in Moscow, and also an article on ecologically hazardous facilities in Moscow.

Observers expected that in the state of emergency situation, the vacancy of the press and information minister would be taken up by Boris Yeltsin's trusted associate, Mikhail Poltoranin. Yesterday, however, he told journalists that he does not approve of censorship being imposed. The same day, according to some reports, First Vice Premier Vladimir Shumeyko occupied this post. It is not known just how familiar he is with this sphere of activity, but the image of a tough and decisive person acquired by Mr. Shumeyko leaves no doubt that censorship, from the Kremlin's point of view, will be effective enough. [passage omitted]

[Article is accompanied by two boxed passages]

Parties and organizations banned under the president's edict:

Working Moscow, Working Russia, the Party for the Restoration of the Great State, the Officers Union, the Russian Party, the National Salvation Front, the Russian People's Union, the Russian Communist Workers Party, the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, the All-Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik), the Russian Communist Youth Union, the Patriotic Youth Front, the United Workers Front, the Russian National Unity, the Russian National Assembly [Sobor], the National Patriotic Front "Pamyat," the Union of Social and Legal Protection of Military Servicemen "Shchit."

Editor's commentary

The events of the last few days can be interpreted in different ways. One thing is clear, however: As a result of what has happened, the country has actually found itself in the conditions of single rule. There is no question that this situation has its pluses. In the present situation it is hard to deny the need for reasonable but resolute measures, even those going outside the legal framework and limiting civil liberties. These measures by themselves do not pose a threat to society.

Another thing is dangerous: Exclusive rule is perhaps the greatest temptation to a statesman. The danger is that the pleasant possibility of undertaking measures without having to look over one's shoulder at the opposition can

create in the Kremlin a feeling of its own infallibility and ultimately lead to a situation where the high concentration of power turns from a requisite instrument into an end in itself.

While gearing the situation toward elections, Boris Yeltsin actually has to move toward a limitation of his own powers. This game will call for tremendous courage. Will he be able to overcome the temptation of undivided rule? If not today, when shots are still being fired in the streets, then tomorrow this will become the main question.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA Editor Fears Long-Term Censorship

PM0610162793 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 6 Oct 93 p 4

[Interview with NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA editor Vitaliy Tretyakov, by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"I know that you in the West are fairly understanding about everything that is happening in Russia: a thousand natives killed, tanks and soldiers on the streets, newspapers shut down, total propaganda, severe censorship in the few papers still being published. What counts is that Yeltsin crushed the enemy without examining all the ways of finding a peaceful solution in the past few months. It took the Army, tanks, bombs, and machine guns. Now this infernal mechanism has been primed. Call it what you will, it is still a military and police regime. Are you sure you can handle it?"

Those are the words of Vitaliy Tretyakov, chief editor of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA, one of the Russian capital's most democratic papers, which has always tried to inform its readers honestly, even in the darkest hours, spoken on the day after Yeltsin's victory against parliament. Yesterday morning his newspaper appeared on the streets with a few "blank spaces," because Boris Yeltsin's censors felt that the statements by regional administrators calling for moderation in relations with the regions were unpublishable. He himself explains how things went. And that takes quite a bit of courage, in view of the climate of purge prevailing in Moscow right now.

[Cucurnia] How did you find out that the censors were reopening their offices in Moscow's newspapers?

[Tretyakov] There was no official decision, so on Monday afternoon we took the paper we had prepared to the printers, as we do every day. It was there that we found out nothing was to be published without the censor's stamp of approval. In view of the situation I had been prudent, so only two articles were eliminated. We had nothing to replace them with, so the paper came out with blank spaces. Today, however, the paper has been decimated: My commentary on the first page has been eliminated, as have a whole series of other articles. I was told that those who dare write things that the censors must eliminate show that they do not understand what a difficult state the country is in. In any case, I have to fill

in the blanks with advertising so that you cannot see anything is missing. Otherwise they are capable of not even allowing the paper to go out.

[Cucurnia] Who was the censor?

[Tretyakov] I was told that it is the same man who was working at SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA under the Communists when a democratic director, Nenashev, was appointed. I was told that only IZVESTIYA and TRUD are exempt. If that is true, it means that they enjoy great trust. Anyway, rooms have been made ready for the censor in all the printing works. That is another reason why I think it is not a temporary decision, just for one week.

[Cucurnia] Should it be, in theory?

[Tretyakov] In theory, nobody knows what is happening. The state of emergency should last seven days, but cleaning up the city and the country of all the opponents, who have gotten nasty now, will not be so easy. I do not rule out the possibility that these measures may be extended. When you take certain steps and you put yourself in the hands of the Army and the forces of order, the subsequent steps are often inevitable, even if you would prefer to avoid them.

[Cucurnia] But Yeltsin promised free elections, which seems to mean that this episode will soon be under control.

[Tretyakov] Perhaps in your country, in Italy, you call it a free election when it is held with the institutions, whether good or bad, dissolved, without an electoral law approved by an elected body, with the opposition's newspapers shut down, and with suffocating propaganda on TV telling fairy tales far removed from reality. If that is the case, then of course we can hold free elections. But I think that, even if Yeltsin is firm in his decision to keep his promises, he will not find keeping his word easy.

[Cucurnia] Do you not think you are being too pessimistic? After all, Yeltsin fought against the Communists and in favor of reform.

[Tretyakov] Yes, of course. But during that battle he showed himself to be very successful at making enemies and almost incapable of keeping his friends. Parliament was on his side too, at the beginning. Then, slowly, the work of casting it in the role of the Devil began, with the results we see before us in Moscow's streets. Now he is flanked by generals and certain representatives of the military-industrial complex. He is bound to have to make concessions to them too.

[Cucurnia] Is that not a sufficient guarantee to stabilize the situation?

[Tretyakov] Despite what official propaganda tells us, we all saw the Army taking sides only at the last minute, after a serious delay. There is no point in pretending that the Armed Forces are united. They are split, exactly like the police and society. That is the way it is in Moscow,

where power is strong and near at hand, so you can imagine what it is like in the regions, where unrest is smoldering among the regional leaders. Dissent exists and will find ways of making itself heard. So it will be necessary to repress it. How? For how long?

End of Censorship Brings 'Hope' for Future

MK0710091793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 1

["NG" commentary: "Small Hope"]

[Text] The censorship that was introduced on Monday [4 October] in a very snappy, Soviet, "military" manner proved right away to be an attempt to start doing away with it completely rather than a curtailment of press freedoms. First, it was absolute: either you reconcile yourself to it, or your newspaper stops appearing. Second, it was political—assessments, views, and facts that did not fit into the official interpretation of events were taken out. Third, it was selective—some newspapers were allowed to appear uncensored—a privilege probably based on the newspapers' "correct" track record.

The most interesting part is not this, however, but the fact that some of the newspaper journalists and editors were immediately ready not only to play according to the new (or rather old) rules, but also to shame their fellow journalists and editors who would not bow to these rules. In doing so, they pretended before the reading and viewing public that all was normal and that it was even helpful. The pens that at one time or another (before 1991) lauded Gorbachev and degraded Yeltsin began scratching in the opposite direction.

On Tuesday, when NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (and some other newspapers) appeared with blank spaces instead of censored materials, the first to react were Western embassies and journalists. The same continued yesterday, too. Dozens of fellow foreign journalists visited NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA (film crews from the "Vesti" and NTV [Nezavisimoye TV] news programs were there too). We thank foreign and some of the Russian journalists for their solidarity. We thank our readers whose telephone calls and letters indicated that they were against censorship. The street price of a copy of NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA shot up on Tuesday from 30 to 300 rubles.

Western leaders, who did not tire of reiterating their support for the Russian president's actions on condition that freedom of the press be upheld and free elections held, found themselves in a rather tricky position. They only had to stay in it for just two days.

Be that as it may, the scrapping of censorship in the context of the terrible developments of recent times is one of the clearest, albeit so far insufficient, signs of hope for a safe (given the present situation) exit from the abyss on whose edge we now stand.

Interior, Security Ministry Press Offices Faulted

PM0610113593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Pavel Koltsov report under the "Critique" rubric: "The Silence of the Press Services. It Breeds Rumors and Speculation"]

[Text] The tempestuous events of the last few days in Moscow have become the central subject for Russian and foreign journalists. Incidents, armed uprisings, exchanges of fire, and rallies followed with kaleidoscopic speed. During the riots the sole possible way of receiving information was through journalists' personal participation in these events—under the fire of automatic rifles and cannons, among the mad crowds. At the same time, official representatives of the Internal Affairs and Security Ministries at all levels kept totally silent, especially the public relations centers of these departments—subdivisions set up precisely to inform the public about the activities of their ministries. For instance, it was simply impossible to get an answer to a particular question or to obtain information about the situation in the city in the last few days at the press center of the Russian Federation Internal Affairs Ministry's Public Relations Center. Telephone receivers there were lifted round the clock, but all one could hear were two answers—"Call back later" (after which the phone line would be silent for several hours) or "Contact the press center of the Moscow Main Internal Affairs Directorate" (where in turn they advised us to phone the Internal Affairs Ministry Public Relations Center). The press services of the Russian Federation Security Ministry acted not much better. As a result, part of the information about the events in the city was either totally unavailable or was accompanied by wild rumors. Why do these press services exist in the first place, financed from the ministries' budgets, i.e., by us, the taxpayers, if they do not tell us anything?

Paper Sellers Hike Prices

PM0610132993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Oct 93 First Edition p 8

["Own Information" report: "IZVESTIYA Has Not Gone Up"]

[Text] On the morning of 5 October, Moscow's regular IZVESTIYA readers were taken somewhat by surprise: instead of 30 rubles [R], our newspaper was on sale at "Rospechat" [Russian Main Administration for the Distribution of Printed Materials] newsstands for R50. The 50-ruble IZVESTIYA could be spotted in various parts of the capital that day—near the "Fili," "Shosse Entuziyastov," "Kashirskaya," and "Semenovskaya" subway stations. It should be reiterated that we cannot discuss the position of the public distributors—the newspaper's retail price is their business.

But we do want to explain to our readers that the editorial team delivers the newspaper to "Rospechat" at

the old price of R14. So it was that until recently, with due account of all kinds of mark-ups, IZVESTIYA sold at R30 per copy.

As such we have nothing to do with the initiative of workers on the "Rospechat" newsstands. We suspect, however, that they have simply decided to take advantage of the situation—namely, the impoverishment of the newspaper market in the light of the suspended publication of a number of titles.

Military Issues**Presidential Structure Eyes Grachev 'Hesitancy'**

PM0610201193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 2

[Mikhail Sokolov article: "Even the Minister Is Under Suspicion"]

[Text] According to information from sources in presidential structures, there is serious dissatisfaction at the stance of Russian Federation Defense Minister Pavel Grachev at the critical moment. What is being held against Grachev is his alleged hesitancy on the night of 3-4 October. The president's most radical supporters are accusing the minister of virtual treachery. The man being held up as an example is Grachev's deputy, Konstantin Kobets, who unhesitatingly headed the operational staff to maintain order in Moscow and essentially took on the command of the operation to storm the parliament building. "It takes about half an hour to move airborne landing units to Moscow from Ryazan or Tula by helicopter. But Grachev held on until the last moment before bringing in the troops. The breakthrough came only as a result of the active position taken by Kobets, who in practice took it upon himself to suppress the revolt," a high-ranking supporter of the president said. A noteworthy fact is that the Yeltsin side reacted with approval to the news that Admiral Kasatonov, an extremely popular figure in Army circles, categorically refused to switch to Rutskoy's side. According to information from the same sources, Kremlin offices are also actively discussing the question of whether Grachev regained Yeltsin's favor by deciding to personally accept the surrender of the White House defenders when in practice everything had already been decided. A recent television statement by General Vladimirov, introduced as adviser to the Russian Federation president on military questions, has not gone unnoticed in the Russian Federation Defense Ministry, either. Vladimirov seriously criticized Pavel Grachev's fundamental thesis that the Army must be outside politics.

Grachev Actions, 'Self-Restraint' Defended

PM0710080593 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Nikolay Burbyga report: "Only a Handful of Traitors in the Army"]

[Text] Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation minister of defense, has expressed gratitude to all servicemen who took part in the elimination of the criminal grouping in the White House 4 October.

From what the defense minister said, a total of 1,300 men took part in the elimination of the disorder in Moscow and the storming of the White House. Subunits of the Taman Motorized Rifle Division, the Kantemirov Tank Division, the 119th paratroop regiment, which is stationed in Naro-Fominsk, and the Tula and Ryazan paratroop regiments were brought into Moscow.

According to data available to Pavel Grachev, the following died while performing a combat mission: Captain Sergey Smirnov, commander of the 5th company of the 119th paratroop regiment; Senior Lieutenant Konstantin Krasnikov, deputy commander of the combat engineer company of the same regiment; Private Vladislav Panov, reconnaissance expert marksman from the 119th regiment reconnaissance company; Private Roman Korovushkin, mortar marksman; and Captain Aleksandr Melchakov. Colonel Nikolay Belyayev, deputy commander of the 119th regiment, was seriously wounded.

Fourteen servicemen from the 119th paratroop regiment and the Taman division, who took part in the storming of the White House, received various kinds of wounds.

The defense minister expressed profound gratitude to the Union of Veterans of Afghanistan. During the difficult days, over 100 "Afghans" returned to the army ranks. Together with the Taman servicemen, they cleared the roadblocks which had been erected around the White House and eliminated the snipers who had set themselves up on the roofs of buildings. During the exchange of fire, former paratrooper Salavat Khabirov, chairman of the Odintsovskiy Union of Veterans, was seriously wounded.

Unfortunately, there were also those who forgot the regulations and their military duty, and tried to go over to the side of the White House, or actually did so.

In the night of 3-4 October, a captain lieutenant in one of the Navy units which is stationed in the city of Noginsk, managed to persuade 17 seamen to rise up in defense of the White House.

With weapons but without ammunition, the group moved toward Moscow, but it was stopped by the Special-Purpose Militia Detachment 31 km down the Gorkiy Highway. The captain lieutenant turned out to be a courageous man: As he was being arrested, he shot himself. All the seamen returned to the unit. When asked whom they were intending to defend, none of the seamen was able to give an intelligible answer. Some said seemingly the president, others also said the president, but with a different name.

Another commander, of an air defense training company (Podolsk city), also managed to provoke 17 men to

depart for Moscow in the night of 3-4 October. They managed to reach the White House unhindered. But there the entire group was arrested. As IZVESTIYA found out from reliable sources, this unit will be disbanded in connection with treachery.

Another officer—the chief of Tula Paratroop Division chemical service—tried to persuade his subordinates not to carry out the orders of the Russian defense minister, but no one responded to his instructions.

The defenders of the White House turned out to include two officers from the humanitarian academy, the former Lenin Military-Political Academy. Until recently, Lieutenant Colonel Terekhov worked at the same academy. Another 12 deputies-servicemen also failed to carry out the order of the defense minister to go to their duty position, and remained at the White House.

And so, in the Army, this was a question of a handful of people. The Army remained united all the time, despite appeals for assistance and repeated addresses to it by Major General Aleksandr Rutskoy, and, most importantly, it remained controllable.

We in IZVESTIYA received a report to the effect that apparently when Moscow Oblast presidential representative Veretennikov arrived in the Taman Division, the gates were slammed in his face, although the situation 3 October was becoming more tense by the hour. And Defense Minister Pavel Grachev did not take any action even after the fighting at the Ostankino television center had begun. It must be said that reproaches of this kind are being made against the Army during various discussion programs on television. The defense minister is being accused of trying to keep to his stance—"the Army is outside politics."

Anyone who is even slightly acquainted with military matters should understand that the Army is living according to the as yet unrepealed law called undivided authority. And no Ivanov, Petrov, or even Veretennikov has the right to give orders to the military.

During the night of 3-4 October, I met with the defense minister several times. And if he can be accused of anything, then it is only one thing—he displayed the self-restraint of a man who had been through a war, a man who understands that if tanks and armored personnel carriers come out onto the streets of the capital and start using their heavy guns to kill gunmen who are hiding in a many-thousand-strong crowd, made up of old men and women and young people, as well as gunmen on the roofs of houses, then that is even more a case of taking upon yourself functions which are not yours and undermining those who should be doing this as their duty.

And only when it became clear that no one apart from the Army could stop the fire, and all the possibilities of averting it were exhausted, did Pavel Grachev, without any hesitation (I remember this moment very well), make a decision. So the storming of the White House was not only a tortured step taken by the president, but also by all

of the military, from the minister of defense right down to the rank and file servicemen. Obviously understanding all of this, the Russian Council of Ministers has circulated an address to the Russian servicemen which contains the following words: "Russia has a great future. And you have defended this future. Glory and honor to you."

Not one soldier or officer in the Russian Armed Forces who took part in suppressing the mutiny in the capital will be forgotten. A number of servicemen will be presented with the rank of Hero of the Russian Federation.

Security Council Discusses Military Doctrine

PM0610180993 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 2

[Vasily Kononenko report: "B. Yeltsin Demands That Russian Military Doctrine Be Adopted Urgently"]

[Text] In the nature of its work, the sitting of the Russian Security Council, which was held in the Kremlin in the morning of 6 October under the chairmanship of B. Yeltsin, corresponded in many respects to the situation in Russia.

The president was confident and resolute when he came into the hall, and he got down to business without any superfluous words. Today, he said, we are examining the question of the basic provisions of the Russian Federation military doctrine. We must finally adopt this most important document which we have been looking at for several months now. But sometimes we ran out of time, or else defects prevented us. Today I am not calling upon you to sign the doctrine, but I am proposing, in the form of an order, that the Defense Minister Grachev's report be discussed. All members of the Security Council must make their observations and proposals in three days, and 15 October we must vote on the military doctrine. There must be no more postponements. I instruct Lobov and Grachev to prepare the documents qualitatively. Talk about a "quick but inferior" job is no longer appropriate. There will be no other questions at today's sitting.

We will no doubt find out what Russia's military doctrine will look like from the military department, which is obliged to report back to the people on how the Army may ensure our security. It is important to note that this time the sitting of the Security Council was held in its new form: It included Gaydar, Fedorov, and Kazannik. All the indications are that the president, who has learned his lesson from the August putsch and the September mutiny, has finally decided to act energetically in the matter of strengthening the state's foundations.

Elite Divisions 'In Readiness' At Airfield

PM0710081193 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 1

[Dorofeya Getmanenko report: "The Troops Have Left the Streets and Squares. But They Remain in the Capital"]

[Text] This time there was no sound of the brass band playing at M.V. Frunze Central Airfield. Today the former "parade ground" is inhabited by subunits of the Tula, Kantemir, and Taman Divisions and other units of the Moscow Military District that took part in the suppression of the attempted coup d'etat. They arrived here on the evening of 5 October. According to Lieutenant General Viktor Ushakov, chief of the operations group, their main task today is making the place habitable. The troops are not taking part in any events in the capital.

A calm, business-like atmosphere prevails on the ground here.

The Army has carried out its orders—the Army could have left the city already but is forced to remain for the time being. In readiness.

Restrictions on Military Communications Relaxed

PM0610125593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 2

["Own information" report: "The Defense Ministry's Telephones Have Been Connected. It Would Be Good To Do This in Our Editorial Office Too..."]

[Text] Yesterday the telephones in the Ministry of Defense and the General Staff of the Russian Army were at last connected. Let us remind you: The Russian Federation military department's communications with the outside world were disconnected 23 September. This was blamed on a breakdown at the automatic telephone exchange, which by pure chance coincided with the latest Russian power crisis. In the opinion of observers, the fact that the breakdown has been eliminated attests to the lifting of tension around the Defense Ministry and to a certain easing of the regime of strictest secrecy that had recently arisen in the Army. Thus, a high-ranking officer has described as unprecedented the directive of the minister of defense and the chief of the General Staff on a temporary change to the procedure for telephone communications between central organs of military command and control and the troops. According to this directive, until yesterday staffers of the military department's apparatus were unable independently to "reach" a single regiment or division even by means of closed communications. For this it was necessary first to contact the specially authorized person representing the branch of the armed forces, the category of troops, or the military district (this was usually the chief of the corresponding staff), familiarize him with the substance of the upcoming conversation, and receive permission for it. Military experts attribute such an original innovation with regard to communications between Defense Ministry and General Staff employees and subordinate units to the desire of the top military leadership to maximally protect the Army from possible political provocations and also to toughen censorship of official and other information reaching units.

According to certain data, the General Staff's control over the situation in units and over the movement of troops has also been eased somewhat since yesterday. The editorial office possesses no data on the lifting of the regime of active monitoring of servicemen's telephone conversations by army security organs and military counterintelligence.

Guards Removed From Lenin Mausoleum

LD0610170293 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1615 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent Andrey Yarushin]

[Text] Moscow October 6 TASS—Russian soldiers will no longer guard the Lenin mausoleum in Red Square in Moscow where the mummified body of the founder of the Soviet Communist state lies.

The "guard post number one of the country" was closed at 16.00 hours Moscow time (1300 GMT) on Wednesday [6 October]. TASS learned from the office of the commandant of the Moscow Kremlin which said the decision was adopted because of a "change in the ritual". It was not elaborated.

The personnel of company of the guard of honour met the decision "with understanding", it added.

Russian democrats urged President Boris Yeltsin to cancel the guard of honour at the Lenin mausoleum and close the Lenin museum in Moscow and its filials in the country after pro-communist forces staged an armed rebellion in Moscow.

Vladimir Lenin died on January 21, 1924. A mausoleum was then erected in Red Square for him and a guard of honour instituted. Guards used to change every hour at the entrance to the mausoleum during decades of the Soviet rule.

When former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev initiated his perestroika policy, democrats in the country urged to bury Lenin.

Economic Issues

Yeltsin Extends Privatization Voucher Validity

LD0610170193 Moscow *ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian* 1548 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By *ITAR-TASS* correspondent]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct—Boris Yeltsin today signed a decree stating that the validity of privatization vouchers has been extended until 1 July 1994.

The government is instructed to ensure the preparation and implementation of measures to organize and finance the holding of voucher auctions, including interregional ones, within the specified period.

Gaydar Rejects 'Populist Measures'

MK0610160893 Moscow *MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS in Russian* 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Yana Yurova report: "Yegor Gaydar: 'There Will Be No Cakes and Vodka'"]

[Text] Anna Tyagunenko, Yegor Gaydar's press secretary, told your *MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS* correspondent that the government would not take any populist measures, there would be no cakes or vodka free for the disgruntled. Returning to the government, Yegor Gaydar was intent only on taking decisive steps to continue reform. In his own words, the experience of the first stage taught him that any compromises or half-measures were much more dangerous. They are bound to cause reform to sag in all respects.

Today, a brainstorming session in the government is in full swing. One thing is clear: The course toward banning government credits, liberalizing foreign economic activity, and upholding the moratorium on freeing grain and bread prices in a number of areas until 15 October remains unchanged. At present, all Gaydar's staffers mull over the lists of specific operational measures ranging from improving street lighting in the city to fighting snipers.

Gerashchenko Interviewed on Economic Issues

PM0710091993 Moscow *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian* 6 Oct 93 p III

[Interview with Viktor Gerashchenko, chairman of the Central Bank, by unidentified *POSTFACTUM* correspondent: "Viktor Gerashchenko: Economic Questions Cannot Be Resolved by Political Means"—carried in *DELO* supplement]

[Text] [*ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI*] How will the problem of reciprocal nonpayments inside Russia be resolved?

[Gerashchenko] Last year I could still see a way out of this situation, but not this year any more.

[*ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI*] Why?

[Gerashchenko] The thing is that until 1 July a system of accounting on the basis of late payments existed in commercial banks. Now, when people speak of nonpayments, they mix up very many things. We conduct approximately 90 percent of transactions in the form of advance payment, and it is only in 10 percent of transactions that payment is required only after the receipt of goods or services. Nonpayments mainly arise because an enterprise, having received a commodity or a raw material, does not pay in the hope that this question will somehow be resolved later, by which time the enterprise will have already sold its output or a new owner will have appeared, not just with vouchers but also with money.

Today no one knows the true sum of these nonpayments. It is not known how the data provided by the State

Committee for Statistics are conjured up. It is clear that nonpayments exist, but not even the balance sheet reporting of enterprises provides these figures. Last year, in my view, we did not properly solve the problem of the insufficiency of circulating capital. The sum of 300 billion rubles [R] allocated to enterprises was evidently insufficient. It helped some enterprises, but the rest evidently need to be closed down, to go into receivership, and to be reprofiled. How is this to be done? Either with the help of the state or with the help of new owners: This is a little task for the enterprises' present owners and for the State Committee for the Management of State Property, but it is beyond them at present.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] At the news conference after the CIS countries signed the economic union, Prime Minister V. Chernomyrdin reported that, if Russia cannot find an economic solution to the arrears of Ukraine, for example, we must seek political ways to resolve it.

[Gerashchenko] Economic questions cannot be resolved by political means. In my view, they can be resolved only by economic means, although political will is sometimes needed to ensure that a particular decision is carried out.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] Following the signing of the economic agreement, will Russia grant credits just as readily to nearby foreign countries?

[Gerashchenko] If you analyze 1992, you will see that all decisions on so-called technical credit were discussed for a long time at the intergovernmental level before being adopted, and in this case the Central Bank of Russia was merely the executor of intergovernmental agreements. In 1993 the position on the question of credits became tougher for a number of reasons. Thus, one objective reason lies in the fact that last year's arrears had to be rescheduled as a state debt with the debtors' corresponding obligations to clear them, corresponding currency provisos, and corresponding parliamentary permission.

The stand taken by the Russian leadership between the first and second quarters of this year was quite tough. The unregulated nature of many things, such as the process of decisionmaking by parliament, the constant attempts by the Ministry of Finance to delay the provision of funds in the hope that this would curb the process of the development of inflation—all this meant that the republics that used old Russian ruble bills were forced increasingly, despite rigid control, to use these bills for payments between enterprises, delaying the payment of wages. Russia rigidly demanded that these republics account for why they needed so much cash, although demands for cash in the republics were growing less than in Russia. The republics were forced to use some of the cash to pay for essential goods from Russia, promising their labor collectives that the wage arrears would be met after the production of output and its sale to Russia or other countries.

Russia's decision to start over from scratch—with its own national monetary unit—to some degree pushed the republics toward the need to adopt a decision: Either they would be in the ruble zone, working according to the rules of Russia and its Central Bank, or they would introduce their own monetary units and their own monetary system.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What will happen after the republics' signing of the agreements on the single ruble zone?

[Gerashchenko] It is the simplest thing to sign an agreement, make a speech, and wish good health. We could turn to the experience of the EC, which since 1956 has been traveling the complex path of reducing the economy to a common monetary denominator. Despite the fact that they have many compatible things in common spheres of economic life—for example, currency is convertible, and there are no restrictions on the transfer of capital—the question of a single European monetary unit just cannot be resolved.

We cannot hope that all problems will be resolved after signing the agreement and bringing interest rates and reserve demands to the same level. We must be realistic: Debts must be demanded from those who can repay them quickly, while we must discuss the movement of capital and investments with those who cannot.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What is the debt of nearby foreign parts to Russia?

[Gerashchenko] The CIS countries' arrears for last year in respect of Russia totaled R1.2 trillion.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What has been the effect of the monetary reform, in the course of which bills issued before 1993 were exchanged?

[Gerashchenko] It is not a monetary reform. It is not even an exchange of money, because the withdrawal of old bills was taking place during 1992 and 1993 and, in general, old worn-out bills are being withdrawn all the time. The thing is that only a lazy economist could not understand why we were withdrawing even 1993 bills of the same denomination, only of a different coloring, and why new bills were not being issued to other republics. If Russia had not done this, we could have ended up in a situation whereby all the republics each secretly introduce their own currency, after which the cash which was on their territory would come flooding into Russia. In this case Russia formed its own national monetary unit. Now we will try to reach agreement from a position of strength with all republics which wish to be in the ruble zone. Trade will proceed with great difficulties with those republics which do not join the ruble zone.

[ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI] What has been the effect of the Central Bank's transfer to the jurisdiction of the executive power structure? What has this changed?

[Gerashchenko] Point 12 of the edict of 21 September 1993 states that the Central Bank is guided in its activity

before the formation of the Federal Council by the president's edicts and the government's decrees—which is what always happened if the edicts and decrees did not run counter to legislation. The same edict points out that the Central Bank is accountable to the government until the formation of the new Federal Assembly—which is also logical, and we see this as no tragedy. As you see, the edict says nothing about a transfer of jurisdiction over the Central Bank.

Minister Explains New Energy Program

PM0710091593 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Fuel and Energy Minister Yuriy Shafranik article: "Fuel and Energy" Will Save Russia"—from the DELO supplement]

[Text] The Russian Government has adopted a targeted federal "Fuel and Energy" program. Unveiling it at a session of the Council of Ministers Presidium, I was convinced that even some cabinet ministers did not fully realize the acuteness of the problems facing the fuel and energy complex.

The sector is currently in deep crisis. Total extraction volumes have been almost halved at the same time as an increase in energy consumption per unit of production has been observed. Until now—and this is what alarms us most of all—the relationship between prices for energy sources and industrial production has not radically changed. We have reached a limit below which we can sink no further: In terms of volume, quality of energy resources, and supplying these resources to the national economy.

Implementing the "Fuel and Energy" program will enable us to stabilize oil extraction, increase the comprehensiveness of processing, and increase gas extraction volumes by developing new fields. We envisage resolving the problems of the coal industry and developing the potential for extracting and utilizing coal from eastern coalfields including the Kansk-Achinsk Fuel and Energy Complex. Measures have been outlined to eliminate the energy shortage in a number of regions, make widespread use of steam-gas installations in the electricity industry, initiate projects to construct highly safe nuclear reactor units, and improve the environmental situation as a whole.

The "Fuel and Energy" program has been given a hostile reception by certain so-called energy sector lobbyists. After all, it is designed to combat the parasitism and inefficiency of energy consumer sectors. This is why documents designed to achieve energy savings are taking so long to go through the mill. Because they will force production workers to bestir themselves in order to achieve efficiency, otherwise tough economic sanctions await them.

The ancillary program "Energy Savings" is particularly important. It should affect everyone. After all, the

stresses in the fuel and energy complex are to a considerable extent caused by the low energy efficiency of the Russian economy. For every unit of GDP we expend two or three times more of our primary energy resources than advanced countries.

By 1995 the planned program measures will enable us save 35-40 million tonnes of ideal fuel in comparison with 1990, and 200-220 million tonnes by the end of the decade.

First and foremost we need to eliminate distortions in the prices of natural resources and consumer goods and regulate the field of standardization and certification insofar as these things have a bearing on energy consumption norms and standards relating to equipment used in the energy industry. The supply of meters to consumers and the transfer to them of ownership rights in the resources that are being saved is of the utmost importance. The proposed measures include setting up an energy savings fund, establishing a special system for managing energy consumption, and providing information and legislative backup.

In order to overcome wastefulness, we are even now proposing to introduce economic sanctions for overuse of energy, taking actual energy consumption in 1992 as a basis. We believe that if energy is used unproductively, consumers should be charged treble.

An important priority for us is the comprehensive development of energy resources. We badly need new large-scale traditional power industry installations, construction of which has already begun. Construction of these installations needs to be completed. Incidentally, were we only to invest the necessary funds in these installations that are nearing completion, next year the federal budget would recoup a sum equivalent to double this investment in the form of taxes alone.

At the same time we are formulating small-scale energy industry projects together with the regions—zonal and local programs. These involve extremely varied technologies. For example, windmill complexes yielding a reasonable volume of electricity. Next up is the development of small turbines and small-scale state regional electric power stations that do not dam the entire width of a river. We expect these to make a big impact.

We cannot avoid reconstructing and modernizing our oil refineries. Depreciation of our main production assets is running at 90 percent. We need to boost the comprehensiveness of our oil refining to somewhere in the region of 72-75 percent. This could serve as a substitute for the additional extraction of 30 million tonnes of oil.

Returning to the "Fuel and Energy" program, I want to stress that in the present instance we are not talking about a departmental document. This is where the vital interests of the power industry and the economy coincide. After all, the fuel and energy complex is the pivot of the economy, and it must be supported as a matter of priority.

Official Predicts 6.8-Fold Price Increase

PM0610134593 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report: "Prices Are Expected To Increase Sevenfold"]

[Text] Toward the end of 1994, prices will have increased by a factor of 6.8 compared with the end of 1993, Andrey Shapovalyants, Russian first deputy minister of the economy, has predicted. Addressing the "Tax Legislation, Accountancy, and Accountability" seminar in St. Petersburg, he also pointed out that state regulation of the economy will be reduced to a minimum. The state will act as an intermediary, as it were, between the producing ministries and the consumers, Shapovalyants said.

Regional Affairs**Regions, Leaders Express Support for Yeltsin****St Petersburg Mayor Sobchak**

PM0610145193 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian
6 Oct 93 p5

[Telephone interview with St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak in St. Petersburg by Fiammetta Cucurnia in Moscow; date not given]

[Text] Moscow—"Those who say that Yeltsin won thanks to the help of the military and will now have to pay his debt to the Armed Forces are very much mistaken. What we should do is send the generals the bill and shed some light on the many strange things that happened in the past few days. Why did they delay so long before intervening? Is it true that there were cases of insubordination?" Speaking on the phone from St. Petersburg, Anatoliy Sobchak, mayor of the city on the Neva and a faithful ally of Boris Yeltsin, does not share the worries of those who fear that the repressive regime in Russia will get harsher. He plays down the dangers and the doubts; he says he is certain that the "tragic episode" of the past few days will soon be a forgotten parenthesis. He sounds like a father trying to keep his family calm in the midst of danger, but his tone of voice sounds far less sure than the words he speaks.

[Cucurnia] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, do you really believe that there was no other choice?

[Sobchak] I am absolutely convinced of that. It was a boil that needed to be lanced. It was inevitable that it should happen sooner or later.

[Cucurnia] But many people here in the Moscow streets are suggesting it is a politician's duty to seek ways to resolve problems without using tanks.

[Sobchak] It is obvious, here in St. Petersburg too, that people are shocked. Who would have imagined such a

thing. We all feel the weight of responsibility. But the fact remains that we were facing a real attempt to restore the old regime. We could not allow that to happen.

[Cucurnia] But until Yeltsin published his edicts, nobody had any thoughts of turning the conflict into armed warfare.

[Sobchak] That is another unclear point right now, too. We should ask ourselves not only what happened in the Army during those hours, or how come a part of the police force joined the rebels; we must also ask ourselves where all the fighters who defended parliament for two days came from, where the weapons, transportation, and trucks came from. Those are not things you can improvise, they are organized operations, properly funded. Indeed, among other things, I was told that Khasbulatov paid the sum of 8 billion rubles to the armed men who came to his aid. Where did that money come from?

[Cucurnia] Did you stay in St. Petersburg throughout those days?

[Sobchak] I watched events on the TV and I was in constant contact with the leaders in Moscow on the phone. And I must say that the thing which struck me the most was that, before surrendering, the fighters who led the revolt, starting with Rutskoy, asked for their families to join them. Generals, grown and strapping men, ready to take cover behind women and children just to avoid being hit by bullets when leaving the parliament building. Shameful. One of the many shameful things we saw.

[Cucurnia] Is the situation calm there in St. Petersburg?

[Sobchak] The city is obviously in a state of shock. But everything is calm. There is no curfew, no state of emergency. We had to close one newspaper and a TV program which was openly calling for insurrection. But, apart from that, there is no censorship here. Basically, the events of the last few days are something which mainly concern Moscow.

[Cucurnia] Do you think Russia's regional authorities will try to come to an agreement with Yeltsin, at this point?

[Sobchak] I really think so. If for no other reason than the fear that they could end up like parliament.

[Cucurnia] What is your prediction for the future?

[Sobchak] Armed groups still circulating around Moscow will be intercepted over the next few days. Then we will start to work for the elections. And, if all goes well, we should have a more or less calm period. At least, I hope so.

Chechen President Dudayev

LD0610172393 Moscow Ostankino Television First
Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Telephone report by Ramzan Khadzhiev from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] As is known, Chechnya's President Dzhokhar Dudayev supported the actions of Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin during the recent events in Moscow. Moreover, concrete help was offered. A special purpose division was prepared for sending to Moscow to help the capital's militia. Its commander, Colonel Derbishev, confirmed this fact in a conversation with me.

However, rumors are circulating in Moscow today that there were Chechen irregulars amongst the defenders of the White House. On this subject Dzhokhar Dudayev said today that there was not one citizen of the Chechen Republic taking part on the side of the rebels. This fabrication was needed by those who did not like the improvement in Russian-Chechen relations, he said. We fear that under this pretext illegal actions may take place against Chechen representatives living in Moscow, he stated in conclusion.

This is Ramzan Khadzhiev of the Voynakh television agency.

Kuban Citizens

PM0610131993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Vladimir Udachin report under the general heading "Our Choice: Regions Vote for Order": "Elections of Both Branches of Power Are Solution"]

[Text] Krasnodar—The celebrations to mark the bicentennial of the founding of Krasnodar and 43 villages in the Kuban that took place last weekend on a grand scale involving leaders of organs of power from republics, krais, and oblasts in the North Caucasus was overshadowed by the grim news of the bloody revolt in Moscow unleashed by the "defenders of the White House." Radio channels apart from Radio Liberty fell silent for a while in the Kuban that evening. The "Kuban" Television and Radio Company on Russian Channel Two interrupted all programs to air the appeal from Krasnodar Kray Administration head Nikolay Yegorov to residents of the Kuban. He condemned the band of political intriguers ensconced in the former parliament inciting people to senseless carnage, and he backed the president's introduction of a state of emergency in Moscow. The head of the administration sees no need for a state of emergency to be enforced in the kray since the situation remains calm. On Yegorov's orders, the guard on vital installations—bridges, reservoirs, television centers, cable, and weapons dumps—has been stepped up. A phone-in with the heads of local administrations took place after midnight. According to them, it was clear that the situation in cities and regions in the Kuban is totally under control.

Monday morning turned out sunny. The situation in the city was calm and all enterprises, higher education establishments, schools, and stores are operating. I telephoned people in the most peaceful professions and asked them what they thought of events in Moscow.

Fedor Miroshnikov, Krasnodar chief architect:

"I never thought that Rutskoy was like a fuhrer. Whereas previously I by no means considered all the president's actions lawful, in this heated situation Yeltsin is 100-percent right."

Svetlana Logacheva, deputy head of the kray education administration:

"People must certainly not be murdered! They must not! During the first few days after the president's edict the Supreme Soviet cut itself off from the realities of life. Whom was it going to fight? Unarmed boys? Civilians? That is a crime. People will not forgive that."

I would add that in conjunction with the militia public order is being maintained by the All-Kuban Cossack Army, its headman Colonel Vladimir Gromov said. Kray Administration Head Nikolay Yegorov and Aleksandr Zhdanovskiy, chairman of the Kray Soviet of People's Deputies, flew to Moscow in the morning for the Federation Council session.

Ivanovo City Soviet Chairman

PM0710085393 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 3

[Unattributed report: "Ivanovo: Motherland of the First and the Last"]

[Text] A few days ago in the "Vesti" television program, describing the former Supreme Soviet's plans for relocating the remains of the deputies' corps from the building on Krasnopresnenskaya Embankment to the provinces, the correspondent cited Ivanovo among the contenders for the role of the new capital. Here it was noted: Why should the motherland of the first soviet not become the motherland of the last? This joke seriously offended the Ivanovo people. One author of the local Ivanovo newspaper "recalled" that Ivanovo was the motherland of the first city soviet, not the Supreme Soviet.

But it is an irony of history that Ivanovo could give the signal for the start of the mass collapse of the soviets' grassroots structure. The city soviet here has for a long time been suffering from a truly chronic illness which can be diagnosed as "no quorum."

This illness has also struck the inner soviet of the Ivanovo "parliament." Having scarcely had time to discuss urgent municipal problems, the "elect of the elected" have again found themselves in a minority and have been unable to define their position in the political situation which has taken shape in the country. Ivanovo City Soviet Chairman Viktor Zelenkin has had to issue a statement to the press on his own behalf. He urged deputies and the city's inhabitants to support the course of reforms which the Russian Government is pursuing and the political transformations which the president has suggested and to prevent the "intransigent" opposition from provoking confrontation in Russian society.

Belgorod Oblast Ore Miners

PM0610135593 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Report by Vladimir Foshenko and Viktor Shishkin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Foshenko] People at the Lebedinskiy Mining and Enrichment Combine in Belgorod Oblast know about the destructive power of fire at first hand—only they use it to their advantage. The miners followed events in Moscow with great indignation and, at rallies held in all the enterprise's shops, they condemned bloody extremism and assured the president and the government of their support. Social unrest is something this combine, which has firmly embarked on the path of economic reform, can definitely do without. The enterprise's 17,000 worker-shareholders are already earning dividends on the privatization checks they invested in the plant. Partnership relations with metal producers in neighboring Ukraine have been reestablished here on the basis of mutual advantage, and exports of enriched iron ore—which is some of the best-quality ore in the world—are up 10-fold over the past two years. It was stressed at the rallies that the miners want to continue developing normally rather than being dependent on leaders' political ambitions.

Tambov Leaders

PM0610131593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Yevgeniy Pisarev report under the general heading "Our Choice: Regions Vote for Order": "Soviets Encouraged Bloodshed"]

[Text] Tambov—After the first news of the bloody events in Moscow, volunteers from the "Fatherland" people's patriotic movement turned up at the oblast soviet building with red banners. They joined the militia in guarding the building, preventing outsiders from entering. The "Fatherland" people barred the way into the building when your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent, who wanted to meet with oblast soviet leaders that evening, tried to enter.

At the same time representatives of democratic organizations supporting the president and the government assembled at City Hall. The night passed calmly in the city.

Early in the morning of 4 October Tambov Mayor V. Koval; V. Davituliani, the president's representative; and V. Vyuzov, the coordinator of the Union of Democratic Organizations, spoke on local radio to sharply condemn the actions taken by the organizers of the bloody red-brown putsch and their attempt to unleash civil war.

That same day the people of Tambov took part in an all-Russia protest action—the city's democratic forces rallied outside City Hall. The rally's resolution particularly stressed the soviets' responsibility for encouraging

and giving outright support to the course of unleashing civil war. "They are directly to blame," the resolution states, "for the fact that so-called volunteers from Tambov are shooting their fellow citizens on the streets of Moscow today."

V. Drozdovich, permanent oblast soviet deputy, voiced a strongly negative view of the violence during a conversation with your ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA correspondent.

"The saddest thing," he said, "is that the participants in the armed raids did not heed the voice of the church. As for the specific culprits, it is too early to draw conclusions; their names and the extent of their culpability will be established by the courts..."

Regions, Leaders View State Duma Elections, Soviets**Writer: Soviets' Power Ending**

PM0610182193 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Oct 93 First Edition p 1

[Article by Aleksandr Lugovskaya: "Absolute Power of the Soviets Ended in Moscow"]

[Text] The rigid refusal of the deputies' corps to accept the idea of early elections, which is recognized by the whole of society except for the deputies themselves, the crazy attempt to hold onto power with weapons in their hands and to return the country to the communist past, brought Russia to the brink of civil war. Russians paid for the collapse of the absolute power of the soviets with their lives. IZVESTIYA's correspondents report how the absolute power of the soviets is passing from the life of Russia.

Viktor Belikov expounds in detail Moscow Mayor Yu. Luzhkov's announcement of the dissolution of the soviets in the capital; the soviets "will never be revived in their Bolshevik-Communist guise." Prefects of the capital's okrugs have been instructed to occupy the premises of former rayon soviets. A new Moscow City Duma will be elected in the place of the Moscow City Soviet; obviously, it will occupy its historical place—the building of the present Lenin museum. By agreement with the president, all premises formerly allotted for the use of the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Russian deputies are returned to the city."

Viktor Kostyukovskiy reports from the Kuzbass a demand delivered at a joint session of the Council of Workers Committees and the Council of Representatives of Independent Kuzbass Mine Workers for the dissolution of local soviets on the territory of Kemerovo Oblast. In the issue of KUZBASS published the same day Kemerovo Oblast Soviet Chairman A. Tuleyev laid all the guilt and responsibility for the blood shed in Moscow on President Yeltsin, without saying a word of condemnation against his former colleague in competition for the president's post, the fascist General Makashov, who committed murders on the streets of

Moscow, nor a half-word against the provocateur, General Rutskoy, who called on the crowd to storm city hall and the television center.

The working committees and the Independent Trade Union of Mine Workers stress in their statement that the holding of elections in the Kuzbass will run up against the furious opposition of soviet structures, which have affiliated with profascist and procommunist organizations. V. Kostyukovskiy reports that M. Kislyuk, head of Kemerovo Oblast Administration, and V. Rayfikesht, head of Altay Kray Administration, have temporarily suspended their membership of the "Siberian Agreement" association.

Valeriy Kornev reports from Volgograd that at a session of the Inner Soviet in connection with events in Moscow a second initiative on the self-dissolution of the Volgograd Oblast Soviet has been heard from the lips of Vladimir Mironenko, chairman of the Commission for Economic Reform and Property. He justifies his proposal by saying that the bloodshed in Moscow lies on the consciences of both the Volgograd Soviet and other soviets who supported the Russian Federation Supreme Soviet and Congress of People's Deputies that were dissolved by the president's edict. This action, in his opinion, untied the hands of political extremists. V. Mironenko's initiative on self-dissolution did not meet with the support of the majority of the "national-communist deputies," and provoked a sharp reproof from Oblast Soviet Chairman A. Morozov. It is already now obvious, V. Kornev concludes, that the national-communist deputies will continue their line toward confrontation. It is logical, in his words, that the idea of self-dissolution of the oblast soviet and early elections to the local soviets was taken up at the recent rally of Volgograd residents.

Andrey Aderekhin in Krasnodar cites as the latest political news a meeting between representatives of political parties and social movements of a democratic orientation: They also called on soviets of all levels to dissolve themselves, noting that communists crossed from the ruins of the communist edifice to the soviets and the trade unions. V. Teterin, the president's representative in Krasnodar Kray, stressed at the same time that the old political system has only been shaken; it has not yet fallen; and V. Dyakonov, the former governor of Kuban, believes that the reforms will progress at all as long as the soviets are operating.

Eduard Kondratov reports from Samara the news that a group of deputies of the Samara City Soviet has announced that they are laying down their deputies' powers and have called on their colleagues to follow their example. They gave as their motive for this decision the conviction that the soviets, which have blackened themselves by supporting the leaders of the fascistic deputies' putsch, should leave the arena.

According to an INTERFAX report, the question of early elections for the Karelian parliament will be the main item on the agenda of the next session of the republic Supreme Soviet.

Jewish Oblast Seeks Separate Constituency

LD0610133893 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0415 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Dmitriy Gorelov]

[Text] Birobidzhan, 6 Oct—In the Jewish Autonomous Oblast, they are insisting on setting up in the region a separate constituency for elections to the state Duma. This proposal was made by the head of the administration of the oblast and the chairman of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

The Coordinating Committee of the Democratic Party (CCDP) of Russia for the Jewish Autonomous Oblast also believes that the clause on elections to the state Duma discredits their region since it deprives it of the opportunity to have an elected representative in the federal parliament corresponding to the size of the population.

The CCDP of the region has sent a protest about this to the Central Electoral Commission.

Bashkortostan Supreme Soviet Speaker

LD0610195493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Speaker of the Supreme Soviet of Bashkortostan Murtaz Rahimov told INTERFAX in an exclusive interview Wednesday [6 October] that he was astounded by the failure of the Federation Council to meet yesterday in Moscow at his own proposal. He said the constituent parts of the Federation should have convened and worked out a unified position on the events in Moscow. He described the postponement as "political game playing on the part of President Yeltsin's entourage."

However, Rahimov did vehemently condemn the actions of Ruslan Khasbulatov and Aleksandr Rutskoy, which had resulted in human suffering in the capital. He said that "given the circumstances Yeltsin had no choice other than to put up resistance." He said, nonetheless, that the conflict could have been avoided if only both sides had acted according to the Constitution after September 21.

Rahimov doubted that elections (on December 12) to the State Duma would take place on the territory of Bashkortostan if by that time amendments had not been made to the law on elections and the constituent parts of the Federation did not receive a 50 percent representation for voting as stipulated by the Federation Treaty.

"We are not going to elect a parliament which will not solve our problems," he said.

The speaker was also wary of proposals by President Yeltsin to dissolve all local soviets (councils). "This would be a tragic move which could lead to the constituent parts leaving the Federation altogether. We must find ways of rapprochement, not of division."

Rahimov said that Bashkortostan's parliament could be dissolved only after a new Constitution was adopted. He also considered simultaneous elections of the Russian president and State Duma desirable if these are held in February or March and that the chances of Yeltsin being elected for the second time were real.

Yaroslavl's 'Democratic Public'

PM0710091793 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by correspondent Yuriy Vakhrin: "Yaroslavl: Deputies Have Made Out What They Want as Fact"]

[Text] The reform of the local organs of self-management seems to be making itself felt ever more persistently. Yaroslavl's democratic public, having discussed the situation which has taken shape in society today, has reached the conclusion that the activity of soviets of all levels should be ended soon.

The "concerted" support for the Supreme Soviet by the oblast soviets after 21 September, although it did not reflect the true feelings of the deputies' corps of Russia's cities and rayons, nonetheless freed the hands of irresponsible politicians and enabled them to provoke a bloody tragedy. At a meeting on Monday the Yaroslavl "Democratic Russia" organization suggested setting a date right now for new elections to reformed organs of local power—land assemblies and local urban councils. They believe that the number of deputies in these organs should be reduced considerably compared with the present oblast and city soviets and in city rayons and rural population centers control should be given only to the executive power structures.

These suggestions have been sent to the Russian president and Federation Council.

St Petersburg Mayor

LD0610163693 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1349 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak doubts that the dissolution of Moscow city and district soviets (councils) after the events on October 3-4 may will be matched by the same steps elsewhere in the country.

He told Interfax on Wednesday that the matter should not be discussed with local authorities before elections to State Duma. He explained that it was for the Duma, by reaffirming a constitution and passing a new election law, to determine the structure of municipalities.

"I personally would insist on a city Duma instead of the city council, as it was before 1917," Sobchak declared.

Chelyabinsk Official

PM0710100593 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 7 Oct 93 Single Edition p 3

[Report by correspondent Anatoliy Usoltsev: "Chelyabinsk: Oblast Soviet's Activity Should Be Suspended"]

[Text] Two days after the start of the bloodshed caused in Moscow by the thugs of Rutskey and Khasbulatov, the Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet has remained silent: The deputies were waiting to see how events would develop. And only when it became clear that the armed putsch had failed did the oblast inner soviet assemble for a session. Its members, who two weeks ago had urged the South Ural people to sabotage the Russian president's edict, have now started to denounce the initiators of the bloody events. But even now they have lacked the boldness to admit that it was they and other soviets who by their former decisions inspired the putschists to criminal actions. The deputies who spoke of the need to review the position of the inner soviet.

We asked Andrey Belishko, first deputy chief of the oblast administration, to comment on the inner soviet's recent decision. Here is what he said:

"The Chelyabinsk Oblast Soviet long ago compromised itself in the eyes of the South Ural people. Recently it has in fact become the headquarters for opposition to the reforms and the bulwark of procommunist revanchist forces. The creation of a destabilizing situation and of dyarchy in the oblast is one the deputies' conscience. Attempts to suspend privatization through freezing voucher auctions, budget wars with the government, and other 'innocent pranks' are also on their conscience. All this met with support from the Supreme Soviet leadership, which turned Chelyabinsk Oblast into a testing ground for rehearsing methods of struggling against the executive power. The oblast soviet was given the go-ahead to show no hesitation in its actions and the deputies showed no hesitation. Might they not have supported Khasbulatov and his entourage in the desire to bring down the president and turn Russia from the path of reforms?

"The oblast soviet is now trying to wriggle out of it, denouncing the initiators of the bloody events and delaying its own re-elections. The opinion of the oblast administration is that the oblast soviet's activity should be suspended immediately. We have suggested this to the Russian president."

No Casualties in Vladivostok Ammunition Dump Blast

PM0610131793 Moscow Ostankino Television First Channel Network in Russian 1800 GMT 2 Oct 93

[Report by Leonid Savitskiy and Sergey Toropov from Vladivostok; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Savitskiy] Vladivostok has had a few anxious hours. Once again, an accident has occurred in a densely

populated area of the city, at the Pacific Fleet's arms dump where explosions a year ago claimed a number of lives. As a result of an explosion of munitions, a scheduled explosion according to the military, a mine store caught fire. Fortunately, nothing worse has happened.

[M.I. Apolonov, assistant commander of the Pacific Fleet] There are no casualties; fire-fighting vehicles and the entire fleet backup system are in operation.

[Savitskiy] Did the government not decide to move the arms dump? After all, is it not a veritable time-bomb under the city?

[Apolonov] Such a decision was made. However, to implement it resources are needed, money is needed to build another arms dump, to build other storage facilities elsewhere. But there is no money.

Ossetians Adopt Resolution on Reconciliation

LD0610132593 Moscow *ITAR-TASS in English* 1208 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Valeriy Shanayev]

[Text] Vladikavkaz October 6 TASS—North Ossetian media on Wednesday [6 October] circulated a resolution adopted by a meeting held here by the Ossetian-Ingush negotiating group on the initiative of the Assembly of the Democratic Forces of the North Caucasus and the provisional administration. At the meeting, the negotiating parties suggested options for reconciliation procedures on the basis of national traditions.

The resolution recognises the need to begin to bring innocently suffering families back to their homes and urges the agencies of the ministries of the interior and security and the provisional administration to take appropriate measures to identify people guilty of stirring up inter-ethnic strife and committing terrorist acts.

It is also suggested that the entire package of measures, prepared by the group to reconcile the two peoples, be brought up for consideration at a conference of national and regional authorities of the North Caucasus.

Meanwhile, according to data reaching the North Ossetian Security Council from military sources, the situation on the territory of the republic, where the state-of-emergency regulations were extended for two months by a decree of the Russian president, remains complex.

Over the past 24 hours, there were seven instances of firing on populated areas and army checkpoints in the security zone at night hours. There were no immediate reports on any casualties.

A session of the organising committee for a congress of the peoples of North Ossetia was held here on Wednesday. The congress is to be held on October 29.

Representatives from more than 90 nationalities inhabiting the republic are to express their attitude to the

developments in Russia and North Ossetia, and to work out a single political programme for stabilising the situation in the region.

Guests from the republics and territories of the North Caucasus, representatives of the public movements and parties, including those from the Confederation of the Peoples of the Caucasus, and the Ossetian diaspora have been invited to attend the congress of the peoples of North Ossetia.

Altay Kray Suspends Membership in 'Siberian Accord'

MK0610133393 Moscow *NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian* 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Unattributed report in the "NEGA Reports" column under the "Altay Kray" rubric]

[Text] According to Anatoliy Muravlev, press secretary of the kray administration, on 5 October the Kray Administration Council decided to suspend the Altay administration's membership in the "Siberian Accord" interregional association.

This decision was made because of the excessive politicization of this body and its display of separatist trends.

Results of Moscow Poll on Crisis Published

PM0710082393 Moscow *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI in Russian* 7 Oct 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "Public Opinion" rubric: "Support for President's and Government's Actions"]

[Text] The All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion carried out a telephone poll in Moscow 4 October and gave its results to *ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI*'s editorial office.

1. Whom do you trust more at present: President Boris Yeltsin and the Russian Government of Viktor Chernomyrdin or the Supreme Soviet of Russia, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Aleksandr Rutskoy?

71 percent—the president and Chernomyrdin's government
4 percent—the Supreme Soviet, Khasbulatov, and Rutskoy

19 percent—neither

5 percent—do not know

2. In your opinion, who bears the main responsibility for the aggravation of the situation in Moscow in the past two days? (The total number of answers comes to more than 100 percent because it was possible to give several answers)

15 percent—Yeltsin

1 percent—Luzhkov

0 percent—the "democrats"

2 percent—the government

0 percent—the Moscow authorities

0 percent—the militia and the OMON Special Purpose Militia

0 percent—the press and the television

45 percent—Rutskoy
 47 percent—Khasbulatov
 17 percent—the Supreme Soviet and the Congress
 5 percent—people's deputies
 4 percent—Communists
 1 percent—patriots and the National Salvation Front
 0 percent—fascists
 1 percent—the thugs around the White House
 12 percent—various groups of the above
 1 percent—other
 9 percent—do not know

3. How do you regard the actions of the White House's supporters on Sunday evening—a spontaneous development of events, a pre-planned action, or were they incited by the actions of Yeltsin and the government?
 8 percent—a spontaneous development of events
 65 percent—a pre-planned action
 11 percent—provoked by the actions of Yeltsin and the government
 16 percent—do not know

4. Do you think that in the present situation the Government's use of troops to achieve control of the situation in Moscow was justified?
 78 percent—yes
 12 percent—no
 10 percent—do not know

5. In your view, what are the prospects for the development of the conflict? Which side will control the situation? How soon?
 66 percent—the situation will soon pass under the control of the Government
 10 percent—it will pass under the control of the government after a long struggle
 3 percent—a bloody struggle, civil war is possible
 1 percent—the situation will pass under the control of the Supreme Soviet after a long struggle
 1 percent—the situation will pass under the control of the Supreme Soviet soon
 19 percent—do not know

Number of Electoral Districts Reduced in Moscow Oblast

MK0610132593 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 2

[Unattributed report under the "In Brief" rubric]

[Text] Moscow Region—"We have started forming territorial electoral districts in Moscow Oblast for the Federal Assembly State Duma elections," advised Vladimir Romanyuk, chief of the Moscow Oblast Soviet apparat section. According to him, in the past there were 45 territorial electoral districts to elect Russian Federation people's deputies. "Now we combine on the average every three districts into one. Fifteen deputies are to be elected from the territory around Moscow, not counting those to be elected on party tickets," Romanyuk said.

Opposition Leaflets in St. Petersburg, Cherkessk

LD0610131493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1127 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The Russian Interior Ministry's Public Relations Center reports that near St. Petersburg's Gostinny Dvor department store militiamen detained a sales assistant distributing anti-presidential leaflets on behalf of a committee for defending the soviets. More than 100 leaflets were confiscated from him.

In Cherkessk (Karachayevo-Cherkessia), residents in many blocks of flats found leaflets in their mailboxes on Tuesday which urged them to gather for a demonstration on October 9 in support of the former parliament. The leaflets were written on behalf of the Cherkessk Communist Party Committee.

Sakhalin Trade Union Chief Condemns Bloodshed in Moscow

OW0710032093 Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk
 Teleradiokompaniya Sakhalin Television Network in Russian 0205 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Interview with Nikolay Mikhaylovich Zotov, chairman of the Oblast Trade Union Council, by unidentified correspondent; place and date not given—recorded; from the "As of This Hour" newscast]

[Text] The trade unions, the most public of organizations in our oblast today, are taking concrete measures to stabilize the situation. Today in our program, Nikolay Mikhaylovich Zotov, chairman of the Oblast Trade Union Council, gives us his opinion.

[Begin recording] [Zotov] Yes, we are all really very concerned by these events. Frankly speaking, we began the working day yesterday by examining the state of affairs occurring in Moscow, and we must say that we are all revolted by the fact that it was allowed to reach the stage of killing people. Of course, all these extremist actions deserve all the indignation, anger, and condemnation when ordinary people, citizens of Russia, are thrown in to decide some issues of ambition. That is why, yesterday, everyone, all the branches of the oblast committee and the oblast trade union council, unanimously expressed condemnation of these actions which allowed people's blood to be spilt.

Yesterday we also adopted an appeal to the workers of Sakhalin Oblast. We express our deep condolences to the families who have lost loved ones; the trade unions have also adopted a decision yesterday to allocate 1 million rubles to the families of the victims.

[Correspondent] Nikolay Mikhaylovich, in our preliminary discussion we said that social tension will always lead to conflict.

[Zotov] Frankly, the people's living standards are falling. Of course, if this had not happened I think the move to

a market economy would have taken a completely different tack. We have many claims on the government—a great many. However, these must be decided in a civilized and peaceful way. The trade unions will again put these issues and demands forward and the government should understand that trade unions, the largest public organizations among the the people, have much more information on what people think, the situation in the work collectives, and how people are living.

Despite this difficult period, the government should find a less painful way to decide economic issues, which would improve the people's living standards. [end recording]

Situation in Chelyabinsk Oblast 'Calm,' 'Under Control'

PM0610122993 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 pp 1, 3

[Anatoliy Usoltsev report under the general heading "Our Choice: Regions Vote for Order": "Former Parliamentarians Outlaw Themselves"]

[Text] Chelyabinsk—The Chelyabinsk Oblast Administration's telephones did not stop ringing all night after Moscow's bloody Sunday. Hundreds of people in the South Urals sent words of support and offers of aid to the

region's Governor Vadim Solovyev, well-known as a consistent champion of the course of reform. The administration head thanked his fellow countrymen and replied that the situation in the oblast is calm and under control. In the morning Vadim Solovyev flew to Moscow for a meeting at the Russian Federation Government.

On Monday [4 October] I met with Andrey Belishko, first deputy head of Chelyabinsk Oblast Administration. He had just returned from the oblast television center, where he had addressed the people of Chelyabinsk on television.

"I assured my fellow townspeople that the administration will not allow the situation to be destabilized," Andrey Dmitriyevich said. "All subunits, services, and law enforcement organs are functioning efficiently in the oblast. Important state installations and facilities supplying the population with vital services have been placed under additional supervision and guard. We are still endeavoring to reach a compromise to facilitate the holding of free elections, but we will resolutely suppress any actions designed to disrupt them."

The oblast administration has urged the population to display prudence and self-possession and not succumb to possible provocation from supporters of the abolished parliament and its leaders who have outlawed themselves.

International Affairs

Kiev on Russian Interference on NATO Ties

LD0610173493 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1530 GMT
6 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev—The press service of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine reported on 5 October that it is still too early to talk about Ukraine's full membership of NATO, although cooperation between Ukraine and the South Atlantic Union [as received] is taking place fairly vigorously, and official delegations from NATO frequently visit Ukraine (the last one was at work last week).

Meanwhile Ukraine's diplomatic circles have recently learned of a letter from Russian President Boris Yeltsin to member countries of NATO, in which Yeltsin advises those states not to accept new members from eastern and central Europe into the North Atlantic Union [as received]. "Russia is undoubtedly an important factor in European security," they believe at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine. "And, while developing relations with NATO, Ukraine should pay heed to Russia's state interests." Ukraine's diplomatic corps, however, does not approve of interference by Russia in Ukraine's relations with international organizations. "Russia should be, if not the last, then the second to last country which Ukraine should consult regarding its actions concerning NATO," an employee of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine said.

Commission Denies Russian Report on Warheads

LD0610213493 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1943
GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] A Ukrainian commission checking a facility for storing nuclear ammunition at Pervomaysk, Ukraine, came to the conclusion that there were no reasons for concern, a Ukrainian Defense Ministry spokesman, Major Valeriy Korol, told Interfax-Ukraine.

A Russian Foreign Ministry spokesman said in Moscow on Tuesday that Russian experts had discovered around mid-September that the facility was overfilled and its temperature and radiation level were therefore too high.

Korol said the warheads withdrawn from service had been transferred to other places. As for the Russian-Ukrainian agreement on the guarantee servicing of nuclear weapons mentioned by the Russian spokesman, Korol said its implementation "is being impeded on the Russian side, because the Russian Defense Ministry is making conditions Ukraine can't accept and is dragging the matter out in every way."

The Russian spokesman also said Ukraine was violating the schedule for the periodic servicing of nuclear ammunition. He suggested that all ammunition removed from launching pads be urgently sent to Russia for dismantling and utilization and that the above-mentioned Russian-Ukrainian agreement be carried out as soon as possible.

Kiev Denies Nuclear Technology Sold to Libya, Pakistan

LD0610131293 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0816 GMT
6 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev [no date as received]—Yuriy Serheyev, head of the information service of the Ukrainian Foreign Affairs Ministry, has denied information provided by several foreign news agencies. He told journalists on 5 October that Ukraine had never sold nuclear technologies either to Libya or Pakistan. "We are involved with nuclear technologies and are responsible for their non-proliferation in countries whose governments are unstable and political courses are undetermined. This is an obligation arising from our membership in the IAEA [International Atomic Energy Agency] and other international organizations," Serheyev said.

Kravchuk Decree on Regulating Government Work

LD0710094993 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in
Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Ukraine's President Leonid Kravchuk has issued a decree on arranging the work of the Cabinet of Ministers of the republic. In particular it says: The president of Ukraine determines the priority trends and directs the activities of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine as far as the exercise by the government of the constitutional plenary powers is concerned. The sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers are held under the leadership of the president of Ukraine.

Draft decrees and instructions by the president of Ukraine on the most important issues of economic and social spheres are considered at the sessions of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. The president of Ukraine appoints and dismisses the leaders of the state committees of Ukraine, deputies to the minister of the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine, and the leaders of the united structural subdivisions of the president's administration and the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine.

Supply of Canadian Oil Equipment Discussed

WS0610132893 Kiev Ukrayinske Radio First Program
Network in Ukrainian 0600 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The press service of the State Committee for Oil and Gas has reported that the committee's leadership held negotiations with (?Bert Hews), deputy trade minister of the Canadian Province of Alberta. This province produces more than 75 percent of Canada's oil. In particular, the negotiations centered on prospects for exporting low-depth drilling equipment to Ukraine. Also discussed were payments for those exports if the issue is resolved positively. [Words indistinct] the possibility of establishing, on a competitive basis, a joint Ukrainian-Canadian project to produce this equipment in our state enterprises.

National Affairs

President Kravchuk Wants One-Chamber Parliament

LD0610193193 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1752 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] President Leonid Kravchuk of Ukraine has said he wants to see a one-chamber parliament set up in Ukraine consisting of 350 deputies elected on a combined majority and party list basis. He was speaking in Kiev on Wednesday at a meeting with American millionaire George Soros.

Kravchuk stressed that a one-chamber parliament was the best option for a unitary state such as Ukraine. While the draft Constitution did provide for elections to a two-chamber parliament, the majority of deputies did not favor that idea. The president also said that Ukraine was currently ill-prepared for elections by party membership lists alone.

Kravchuk said that today's developments in Russia testified to "the difficulties to be encountered in the transition from one system to another." Ukraine, he said, was also going through a rough patch, but had "managed to arrive at early elections without confrontation."

The Ukrainian president expressed the hope that the new elections law would be passed by parliament shortly.

Early elections to the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet are scheduled for March 1994.

Kravchuk Sets Up New Government Subdivisions

LD0710095793 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] In compliance with the decree by the Ukrainian president on the reorganization of structural subdivisions of the president's administration and the Cabinet of Ministers, a board of economics, a board on issues of foreign economic relations, a legal board of the president and the Cabinet of Ministers, and a service of the president on issues of territories will be set up within the body of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Presidential Press Service Head Appointed

LD0710100493 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The president has issued an instruction on the leader of the press service of the president and the Cabinet of Ministers. It appoints Viktor Stelmakh leader of the press service of the president and the Cabinet of Ministers.

By decree of the president, Zynoviy Tkachuk has been appointed adviser to the president on issues to do with the agro-industrial complex.

Background to Morozov Resignation Detailed

MK0610173893 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 4

[Oleg Medvedev report: "Ukraine Defense Minister Dismissed. Ukrainian Parliament Pays Homage to People Who Died in Moscow"—first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] Yesterday, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk put to parliament's approval the composition of the government he formed. It cannot be called new; the people are virtually the same ones who worked in Leonid Kuchma's cabinet, which was dismissed several weeks ago. Virtually the only exception is Defense Minister Konstantin Morozov. The president granted his resignation request the evening of 4 October and instructed Morozov's deputy, 52-year-old Colonel General Ivan Bizhan, to perform the minister's duties.

One should have expected Morozov's resignation because his stance did not fit into Kravchuk's supercautious gamble with Russia. The now former minister had important differences with the president, in particular over the questions of strategic nuclear weapons and the Black Sea Fleet. Konstantin Morozov spoke resolutely against the selling to Russia of Ukraine's part of the Black Sea Fleet, the possibility of which was discussed in the course of the Russian-Ukrainian summit in September. Not surprisingly, Morozov caused irritation to Russia, which sometimes openly stated this to high-ranking Ukrainian delegations in Moscow.

The minister's resignation, however, was not predetermined by this alone. In connection with the forming of the government, Morozov was obliged to go once again through the approval procedure in parliament, many of whose deputies are unfriendly toward him. Earlier this year, nearly 150 deputies sent a letter to Kravchuk demanding that Morozov be replaced. They accused the minister, who is Russian, of "the forcible Ukrainianization of the army, introduction of the institution of nationalist political commissars," etc. Morozov decided to quit of his own accord before he was shown the door. The president perhaps thought it was time for Morozov to go—the minister had performed the hard and rather painful task of creating a national army.

Whoever replaces Morozov, major changes in the military policy of the Ukrainian state are highly doubtful until next March, when a new parliament will be elected, or even until June, when presidential elections are to take place. For the time being, Kravchuk appointed Ivan Bizhan acting defense minister. The confirmation of the new minister in parliament is expected on Thursday.

Also yesterday, the parliamentarians confirmed the other ministers. In the wake of Leonid Kuchma's resignation, the president took direct charge of the government both on the recommendation of parliament and by virtue of the fact that none of those whom Kravchuk had asked wanted to form a cabinet. It was hard to find

anyone wanting to take charge of a disaster-bound economy, especially just before sweeping re-elections of the authorities.

To all appearances, however, Deputy Prime Minister Yefim Zvyagilskiy, an advocate of Ukraine's joining the economic union, who was born in the Donbass, will take over the day-to-day dirty work of leading the government and making possible trips to Moscow to solve questions promptly.

This union continues to remain the subject of heated discussions in Ukraine. Yesterday, many parliamentarians were actively using the internal political instability in Russia as an argument against Ukraine's accession to the union. Calls were also heard for "reinforcing the border with Russia" due to the danger of a dramatic development of the situation in Moscow.

As for the latest events in the Russian capital, politicians in Kiev gave unequivocal support to Yeltsin. There was a rally in his support in Kiev on Sunday. Yesterday, Ukraine's Supreme Soviet honored those who died in the armed clashes in Moscow with a minute of silence.

Supreme Council Debates Draft Constitution

*LD0610145593 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1157 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[Text] Kiev, 6 Oct—The work of the Supreme Council session continues. Deputies received the draft constitutional law of Ukraine about the name of the structure and the numerical composition of the new Ukrainian parliament. In particular, the draft states: "In connection with the adoption by Ukraine's Supreme Council of the law on preterm elections to the Supreme Council of Ukraine and the president of Ukraine, the Supreme Council resolves that:

1. The body of legislative power in Ukraine is the All-People's Council of Ukraine [Vsenarodna Rada Ukrainy], other variations are (Supreme Council of Ukraine, National Assembly of Ukraine);
2. The All-People's Council consists of 350 deputies of Ukraine who are directly elected by the people in the electoral districts for a period of four years and work on a professional basis. Citizens of Ukraine over the age of 25 who live permanently on Ukrainian territory may become deputies."

As Deputy Boyko noted, yesterday's registration of the Communist Party of Ukraine (CPU) by Ukraine's Ministry of Justice is testimony of the return of the communist regime in Ukraine. Deputy Zayets supported Boyko and proposed to include on the agenda the issue of banning the CPU.

Deputy Marchenko spoke against the institution of the presidency, stressing that without a referendum we could not dispense with the basics of the constitution. He proposed that Leonid Kravchuk should resign from the post of head of the constitutional commission.

In the break between sessions, on the initiative of Deputy Kalynets, a gathering of signatures began for a letter to Kravchuk:

"We, people's deputies of Ukraine, are concerned with your decision to replace Defense Minister Kostyantyn Morozov at this very crucial time. We consider that such a change will slow down the formation of the Ukrainian Armed Forces, cause misunderstanding among soldiers, as well as in society as a whole, and will not benefit Ukraine. We demand that Morozov be reinstated as Ukraine's defense minister." Fifty-two people's deputies signed the letter. For the most part, they were members of the People's Council.

Government Considers Paramilitary Body Ban

*LD0610134093 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 0816 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[Text] Kiev, [no date as received]—UNIAN has already reported that, interviewed by Ukrainian television on 4 October, Ukrainian President Leonid Kravchuk stated that armed paramilitary detachments out of control of the state have always posed a danger. He states, therefore, that it would be advisable that a ban should be imposed on nonstate armed formations and that the right to use weapons should be reserved solely by the militia, army, Ukrainian Security Service, and National Guard. The president said it was intended that there should be increased attention on the Ukrainian Officers Union, considering that the analogous union in Moscow had supported participants in the coup. This statement caused varying comments by Ukrainian politicians and statesmen in their exclusive interviews with a UNIAN correspondent.

IVAN PLYUSHCH, SUPREME COUNCIL CHAIRMAN: The issue of armed formations now tops the agenda. I support the point of view of those deputies that are raising the issue unequivocally: There must not be any armed formations, except for the agencies permitted to carry weapons. I support the president's position: There must be a legal basis. Those young people whose hands are itching to carry weapons should have their hands slapped in a lawful, legal manner.

VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL, CHAIRMAN OF PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT OF UKRAINE [Rukh]: The president is wrong. He drew a parallel between two organizations of an entirely different nature: the Russian Officers Union, a purely chauvinistic organization, which took part in the coup, and the Ukrainian Officers Union, which is not a paramilitary organization. He gave way to the Communists who want to disband the Ukrainian Officers Union, where there are absolutely normal people behaving in a well-considered manner, who wish to build the army and help it to acquire a professional, national character. Kravchuk has already sacrificed [Former Defense Minister Kostyantyn] Morozov to the Communists and thrown out of the government all those recommended and supported by Rukh. Even [Former External Economic Relations Minister Ivan] Herts was

fired and [Environmental Protection Minister Yuriy] Kostenko alone remained to head a nonspecialist [neprofilyuyuchy] ministry. A period of Kravchuk's full cooperation with the pro-Communist nomenklatura forces has begun.

STEPAN KHMARA, CHAIRMAN OF UKRAINIAN CONSERVATIVE REPUBLICAN PARTY: My attitude toward this statement by the president is that of indignation. Kravchuk would like to nip the national patriotic forces in the bud so that he can do what he has been doing so far, that is, acting in an uncontrolled manner for the benefit of certain groups and mafia clans, rather than that of Ukraine, and performing the function of Moscow's puppet. He will not be able to destroy patriotic organizations, however, perhaps ban them, but not destroy. Kravchuk is afraid of organized forces that threaten to organize the people into rising to fight for their rights.

YEVHEN MARCHUK, CHIEF OF UKRAINIAN SECURITY SERVICE: We hope that the Supreme Council in the next few days will adopt relevant amendments to the legislation, which will provide for the liability of the organizers of armed formations, and will endorse a procedure to disband them forcibly. This will be a legal basis of our further actions.

Creation of People's Squadrons Urged

AU0610181993 Lvov ZA VILNU UKRAYINU in Ukrainian 2 Oct 93 p 1

[Statement by Yu. Kryvoruchko, commandant of the People's Squadrons: "Our Times Dictate the Need for the People's Squadrons"—first paragraph published in boldface]

[Text] The Crimean agreements concluded by the presidents of Ukraine and Russia are regarded everywhere as a threat to our statehood. To counterbalance them, militarized [sylovi] groups have emerged that, on 6 September, were structured in Lvov into People's Squadrons.

Uniting patriotic young Ukrainian people within our ranks, we are getting ready to use all forms of force in order to maintain the peace, sovereignty, and territorial integrity of Ukraine. If the political situation deteriorates, extreme forms of confrontation and opposition may be used (open conflicts between Ukraine's Ukrainian and Russian population, mass political strikes, civil disobedience, the blocking of oil- and gas-pipelines running from Russia to Europe, and the blocking of railroads and Russian transit transport).

Our national consciousness was manifested best of all in picketing Ukraine's Supreme Council. Two 100-strong Peoples' Squadrons [dvi sotni narodnykh zahoniv] have been formed in Lvov. Similar subunits have emerged in the Volyn region and in some rayons of Lvov Oblast (Turka and Sambir). Our ranks are growing daily. Students are particularly active in them.

The events in Kiev and, in particular, the arrest of 19 boys have shown that the members of the People's Squadrons have chosen their road in life consciously and irrevocably. No torture, coercion, or intimidation in the Kiev prison can bend their will or determination. They were convinced that their cause was right—and they won.

The Central Headquarters of the People's Squadrons has made a decision on expanding the structure of the People's Squadrons. We appeal to all thinking Ukrainians with the call: "Create subunits of the People's Squadrons!"

This is our address: Shevchenko Prospekt 23, Lvov, Tel. 72-46-81.

Security Service Holds Conference 3 Oct

AU0610144293 Kiev MOLOD UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 5 Oct 93 p 1

[Volodymyr Oliynyk report: "Everything Is Quiet in Ukraine"]

[Text] On the evening of Sunday 3 October, when shooting was in progress in Moscow, an urgent conference of all services was held in the building of Ukraine's Security Service. It was presided over by Yevhen Marchuk, chairman of Ukraine's Security Service. As this issue of the newspaper is in print, stated Viktor Varenkyk, deputy chief of Ukraine's Security Service Press Service, all services are operating normally. To my question about the results of the conference and about what it dealt with, the deputy chief of the press service answered that the current situation was discussed. There is almost no reason to fear that the Moscow events may somehow affect Ukraine. As he said, normal work was under way.

Asked about the situation at the border with Russia, Petro Medvid, chief of the Press Service of Ukraine's Border Troops, answered that everything was in order. No excesses or provocations were recorded during the events in Moscow. Petro Medvid emphasized that the border troops continue their usual work on defending Ukraine's state border.

It may, therefore, be assumed that everything is quiet in Ukraine. It would be a good idea, however, if ministries in charge of forces and corresponding services responsible for the state security would be more willing to maintain contacts with the press, especially in such critical times, to prevent the spread of rumors.

Party Leaders View Early Elections

WS0710091893 Kiev KYIVSKA PRAVDA in Ukrainian 28 Sep 93 p 1

[Article by P. Vasyanovych: "There Will Be Elections, But There's Still No Electoral Law"]

[Text] The dream of every democrat has come true—after bitter and exhausting debates last week, the parliament eventually adopted a resolution on early elections

for the Supreme Council and Presidency. Now those who are not yet sick and tired of this have the opportunity to go to the polling stations on 27 March and 26 June. Meanwhile, at an impromptu meeting, leaders of democratic forces congratulated picketers on the "common victory" and thanked the militia for displaying restraint. Then the silence around the Supreme Council settled back in again.

I am not sure whether it was because of the pressure from protesters, an awareness of its role, or maybe an intention to avoid the Russian scenario that the Ukrainian legislature worked very productively last week. It accepted the government's resignation, took a clear position on the economic union treaty, and finally, adopted a resolution on early elections and found some time to talk about a new constitution. Now, a key task is to pass the electoral law. Otherwise, it would be a funny thing to have a specific date for elections but no rules on how to vote.

Winter is around the corner, and no one knows what it holds for us—more political furor, tough campaigning, dwindling economic performance, depreciation of the coupon, and maybe the hryvnya? How do you assess the current situation?—this was the question that I asked to leaders of various political forces.

Volodymyr Filenko, head of the Party of Democratic Rebirth of Ukraine, PDVU:

This victory—a decision by the legislature to call early elections, something for which the PDVU and "New Ukraine" have long pressed—is quite a thing in its own. Although it is not clear who will win the elections, one thing is for sure—the new parliament will be more realistic, professional, and better represented by entrepreneurial circles. But before the elections, we have to reform the political parties—they should move up to a new level of quality and become true public organizations uniting the most active members of various walks of life. Every party that does not understand this will lose the elections. Naturally, we should resolutely head toward market-oriented economic reforms before the elections. A lot will depend on the president. He has the opportunity to have his weighty say, forming a government of people's trust, initiate reforms, and finally account for the past two years. Instead of worrying about what people say about him today, he should be thinking about what will go down in history.

Stepan Khmara, leader of the Ukrainian Conservative Republican Party:

I have no doubts that the decision about early elections was correct. Still, another thing raises my concern—how adamantly the issues of Ukraine's security are blocked in the parliament. What is one supposed to do to get out of this dreadful mire in which we have found ourselves? One should stop the unprecedented theft of national wealth and the policies of Kravchuk that contradict our national interests; one should also determine from where the so-called Ukrainian "debt" came, at a time when

they sell to us and we give them everything, including nuclear warheads and our share of the former Soviet foreign assets, etc. The issue of Ukrainian national security should be viewed in a broad political, legal, financial, economic, and military context. Without dramatic changes, which can be launched by an examination of the national security issue, we are in for hard times. One should stop the plundering of Ukraine by the domestic and foreign mafia countenanced by the authorities instead of blubbering about a constitution, which neither the parliament nor society are ready to adopt.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, head of the Rukh:

The coming months will not be easy. The situation can be saved only by a provisional government, which most probably will not emerge—it will be formed around Zvyahilskyy. Still, I remain optimistic, because now we will have early elections. Now, we have to stick it out for the next half year and soothe the people. After that, we can get down to real work with a newly elected legislature and government.

Justice Ministry Registers Communist Party

LD0610213693 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1530 GMT
6 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev—On 5 October, the Communist Party of Ukraine was registered at the Ministry of Justice and thus became the 29th officially registered party in the country. As is written in its rules, the Communist Party of Ukraine unites the proponents of the communist idea on a voluntary basis. The objective is "the preservation of the socialist orientation of society's development; the establishment of humanistic, democratic, and collectivistic principles; the supremacy of law; and the granting of equal rights to citizens of all nationalities."

Among the founders of the Communist Party are Ukrainian People's Deputy Borys Oliynyk, Petro Symonenko, first secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine Central Committee, and Oleksandr Holub, chairman of the Lvov Oblast Committee.

Increase in Activities of Odessa Communists

LD0710101093 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 0200 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] The process of the restoration of communist organizations is becoming stronger in Ukraine's southern regions, specifically, in Odessa Oblast. Simultaneously, the activity of local soviets claiming all authority for themselves is gaining strength. Thus, it has been announced here that a provisional Odessa Oblast Communist Party Committee has been set up. This decision was adopted at a joint session of the Odessa branch of the all-Russian Communist Party of Bolsheviks [VKPb] and a number of pro-communist organizations. Communist rayon committees are expected to operate in the town, along with the Odessa Oblast and town committees of the VKPb.

Statesman Calls For Keeping Nuclear Arms

AU0610143593 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian
5 Oct 93 p 1

[Statement by Ivan Zayets, Ukraine's people's deputy and chairman of the People's Council, a parliamentary faction: "On the Red-Brown Threat and Ukraine's Tasks"]

[Text] We must learn several lessons from the recent events in Moscow.

First. We must not underestimate the strength of the red-brown groupings [communists and fascists united] and the danger presented by their activity. Regarding them, we must act actively and in a principled manner. These people have no scruples and they regard their own people as slaves or cannon-fodder.

The new victims in Moscow constitute the payment for the carelessness and lack of consistency manifested by the Russian authorities and Russian society in deciding on the just punishment for members of the State Committee for the State of Emergency.

Second. Ukraine's national democratic forces and all the Ukrainian people must not relax their efforts even for one moment in the face of the threat of restoration of the Russian empire and of the communist totalitarian system both in Russia and Ukraine. The Russian Red-Browns and the Ukrainian Red-Browns coordinate their actions and count upon each other's support. Even the slightest anti-democratic actions by the Red-Browns must be immediately repulsed by Ukrainian citizens and power structures.

Third. The disturbances in Russia will continue for quite a long time. They will assume different forms. The

revolutionary right will prevail in Russia for quite a long time. That is why Ukraine and, first and foremost, Ukrainian authorities must finally start looking toward the West and reorient themselves toward an actual integration into Europe in political, economic, and military aspects. Ukraine must not give up its nuclear weapons until a reliable system for ensuring national security is created. Ukraine must immediately withdraw from the CIS and conduct active policy in the sphere of regional integration in southern and western directions.

Ukraine needs immediate radical political, economic, and social reforms in the interests of all of its people. Unless these reforms are implemented, it will remain extremely vulnerable to any undesirable external influences, primarily from the east.

Fourth. The events in Moscow have again pointed to the inefficient and even erroneous nature of the policy pursued by Western states with regard to resolving the problem of instability on the territory of the former USSR. In the system of measures, in particular, in providing assistance to post-communist states, the significance of the so-called "neighboring foreign states" was underestimated.

Officers in Black Sea Fleet Said Persecuted

WS0610133193 Kiev RADA in Ukrainian 30 Sep 93 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "News, Facts" rubric: "Persecution of Ukrainians in Black Sea Fleet"]

[Text] The press center of the Ukrainian Navy has reported that in subunits deployed in Kacha officers who have taken an oath of allegiance to Ukraine and received Ukrainian citizenship are routinely persecuted. They were told to either look for employment in the Ukrainian Navy or to resign.

Kyrgyzstan

President Akayev Holds Meeting on Law Enforcement

LD0610223493 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Maynaye]v

[Text] Bishkek, 6 Oct—Askar Akayev, president of the Kyrgyz Republic, held a closed sitting this afternoon with the power ministries, and with staff from the republic's procuracy. It has been possible to ascertain from sources close to the government that the meeting dealt with the work of the law enforcement bodies, the security service, and military structures in light of the tragic events in Moscow. Akayev thinks that the clash might have been less sanguinary if the law enforcement bodies had been able to reliably prevent the proliferation of weapons and the spread of criminal elements throughout Moscow.

The crime situation in Kyrgyzstan has also become more difficult. The flow of weapons and drugs coming into Kyrgyzstan from neighboring Tajikistan has increased recently. During the past three weeks alone, the militia has confiscated dozens of assorted weapons and over 40kg of opium on the road between Osh and Khorog. Hooliganism has reached such proportions, Akayev observed, that many in Kyrgyzstan are afraid to walk in the streets of towns and villages. Interethnic incidents have also become more frequent. The president has ordered the law enforcement bodies to put up a reliable barrier against crime and corruption.

Health Minister Leads Delegation to Japan

LD0610135793 Bishkek Kyrgyz Radio First Program Network in Kyrgyz 0000 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] A delegation led by Kyrgyzstan Health Care Minister Kasiyev ended its visit to Japan yesterday. The minister, as well as the head of the Bishkek Kurulush construction company, Moldybayev, visited Japan to discuss in full detail the help to be rendered by the Japanese Government to provide modern medical equipment and preparations to the hospital under construction in Bishkek.

During their one week stay, the delegation held talks at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs about cooperation in health care and establishing direct contacts between the leading clinical hospitals of Kyrgyzstan and Japan.

Tajikistan

Supreme Council Chairman Rakhmanov News Conference

LD0610235493 Dushanbe Radio Tajikistan Network in Tajik 1220 GMT 5 Oct 93

[News conference by Supreme Council Chairman Imamali Rakhmanov with domestic and foreign journalists in Dushanbe on 5 October—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Rakhmanov] Today I held a meeting with the leadership of the government and the presidium of the Supreme Soviet [words indistinct]. This visit to the United States and our participation in the UN General Assembly session are historic events and a new chapter in the history of our republic. As you know, an official government delegation of Tajikistan headed by myself paid a working visit to the United States from 26 September to 1 October. The main aim of our working visit to New York was first of all to inform the world community via the United Nations about the problems facing present-day Tajikistan and to attract their attention to our pressing problems.

Though the majority of countries of the world have officially recognized us, not all of them had sufficient information about the pains and misfortune which befell our people as a result of the fratricidal war. Of course, in this difficult economic situation, to pay a visit to a distant country in my opinion was necessary. In my speech at the 48th session of the General Assembly I addressed all the countries of the world and said that Tajikistan is ready for economic cooperation with all countries on the basis of generally acceptable conditions. It is no secret that we seriously need such cooperation in order to revive our national economy as soon as possible.

In the new history of Tajikistan, for the first time the head of state of the independent Republic of Tajikistan spoke from the tribune of the United Nations and told the world community about the internal problems of the republic, about the aspirations and wishes of the noble people of Tajikistan, and about his work and ideas concerning the main world issues. This has a great international importance for us. On the other hand this means that a new stage has started in the process of Tajikistan's joining the international community and that the Republic of Tajikistan has become a full member of the international community in the true sense of the word.

Another aim of our working visit was to further strengthen our relations with the United Nations, to develop these relations, and widely utilize the economic and humanitarian possibilities of this organization. These and other issues of mutual interest were discussed in the course of our friendly meeting with Butrus Butrus-Ghali. The UN secretary general accepted our invitation to pay a visit to Tajikistan. I also had talks with the secretary general's deputies, the heads of department of this organization such as [word indistinct], UNICEF, and so on. Agreements were signed between some UN departments and our republic. According to these documents our relations with this prestigious international organization will be developed in the future. In general, our relations will be improved. We will find opportunities to derive benefits from different UN programs.

The other positive result of our working visit was our talks with the leadership and representatives of the U.S. Government. I wanted to point out separately that I met President Bill Clinton. Though our meeting was not very

long. President Clinton expressed his best wishes and attention toward developing relations between Tajikistan and the United States. We felt this practically once again during our meeting with Mr. Talbott, the adviser and special envoy of President Clinton, and a prominent U.S. political figure. This was our second meeting with Mr. Talbott during the past month. This time too our meeting was very fruitful. As a result of a long meeting, Mr. Talbott informed us that the U.S. Government has prepared a special program of assistance for Tajikistan. A group of U.S. Government officials will pay a visit to Tajikistan in the near future to undertake a thorough study of our needs and complete this program.

A group of people's deputies of Tajikistan accompanied us to New York. They, together with our lawyers, had long discussions with U.S. lawyers on preparing the draft of a new constitution. The heads and experts of the ministries and departments who accompanied us signed a number of contracts relating to medicine production and the processing of agricultural produce. Our representatives took part in the work of the annual advisory meetings of the IMF and the World Bank. They had fruitful talks with the heads of these important world financial organizations.

I have to say that I had more than 20 official and unofficial meetings with heads of states and governments, ministers of foreign affairs, ambassadors of different countries, the leadership of the United Nations, our compatriots in the United States, and so on. These meetings were very important for Tajikistan.

In conclusion, I want to say that I am satisfied with the results of my working visit. Our visit was fruitful and will bear desirable results. In my opinion, this visit of ours will make a considerable contribution to enhancing the prestige of and respect for Tajikistan in the international arena. With this I will conclude my opening statement and I am now ready to answer your questions. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified Iranian correspondent of KAYHAN, in Persian] In the name of God. KAYHAN reporter from the Islamic Republic of Iran. Mr. Rakhmanov, you had meetings with Mr. Velayati, the minister of foreign affairs of Iran, and with the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan. Could you tell us what developments you foresee in relations with these two countries?

[Rakhmanov] I consider our meetings with Mr. Arsala, the foreign affairs minister of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, and with Mr. Velayati, the foreign affairs minister of the Islamic Republic of Iran, as important and fruitful. At both meetings we expressed our wishes, future efforts, and aims toward (?developing) relations with the Islamic states of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, and, in general, with all countries of the world. I also had a meeting with the prime minister of the Islamic state of Bangladesh. She has invited us to pay a visit to her country. At the meeting with esteemed Mr. Velayati, I accepted his invitation on behalf of His

Excellency President Rafsanjani to pay an official visit to the Islamic Republic of Iran. Of course, we accepted this invitation and our Ministry of Foreign Affairs is instructed to determine the time of the visit and to propose it to the Islamic Republic of Iran.

Similarly, our meeting with the foreign affairs minister of Afghanistan was held in an atmosphere of mutual understanding. The results of the meeting that we had in the city of Kabul, and the forthcoming visit of His Excellency Professor Borhanoddin Rabbani, the president of the Islamic State of Afghanistan, to our republic were discussed. A working group from the Islamic State of Afghanistan will pay a visit to Dushanbe from 6 to 8 October and will take part in the preparation of bilateral documents. [passage indistinct]

[Viktor Khle of VECHERNIY DUSHANBE, in Russian] VECHERNIY DUSHANBE, Viktor Khle. Were any kind of conditions proposed by the U.S. Administration for further cooperation between our nations, and is any other summit meeting planned between the leaders of the United States and our republic?

[Rakhmanov, in Russian] You know I want to answer you right away in order to clear up the point. When esteemed Strobe Talbott was in our republic we had very specific talks and after his return he informed his leadership, and he was instructed to inform us about the intentions and the program which the Government of the United States is adopting on rendering economic assistance to Tajikistan. I would like to say that at meetings both in Dushanbe and in New York I personally did not hear, nor was there, any condition set by the U.S. representatives. But we are intending in future to pay an official visit to the United States, and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has been instructed to prepare for such a visit in the January-February period of next year.

[Unidentified correspondent] Speaking for the first time from the tribune of the United Nations, our leader said that Tajikistan has the technology to extract uranium. How will this be utilized in the future? My second question: Nursultan Nazarbayev, the leader of Kazakhstan, yesterday said on the radio that the CIS leaders had a meeting and that they signed a joint communique in support of the Government of Russia. Your name was not mentioned. Can you explain this?

[Rakhmanov] Thank you. The answer to your first question is that in the future the extraction of uranium which you mentioned will be developed in the republic. I have stated that it will not be used for making weapons against humanity but will be used only for producing electricity.

As to your second question, [words indistinct] as far as the policies of esteemed Boris Nikolayevich Yeltsin, the president of Russia, are concerned, in my statements and similarly upon arrival at the airport of [name indistinct] city, I have openly and clearly set out the opinion of the people of the republic and the opinion of the head of the republic. Even when we (?arrived) in the United

Nations, all this was covered by all the newspapers there and the U.S. leadership already knew about my views. [Words indistinct] on the second day in New York I had a meeting with esteemed Mr. Andrey Vladimirovich Kozyrev. I also had a meeting with a representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russia, when we arrived back in Moscow. [passage indistinct]

Irrespective of the economic situation of the republic, this morning I have instructed the chairman of the Council of Ministers to send two aircraft carrying more than 80 tons of fruits and vegetables as humanitarian assistance from our republic to the city of Moscow, for the victims and for hospitals there.

[Bakhtiyor Sadridinov of GOLOS TAJIKISTAN, in Russian] Bakhtiyor Sadridinov, GOLOS TAJIKISTAN newspaper. Esteemed Imamali Sharipovich, I would like to ask you two questions. To begin with, however, I would like to return to 24-25 September, when in Moscow at the President Hotel, at a meeting of the heads of the CIS states, you said that an agreement on economic union was signed. Can we rely on the fact that this agreement really will work and will not remain on paper, like many other documents, which have been adopted at the level of the CIS heads of states and governments? The second question: This February, when a big group of journalists from the CIS and foreign countries arrived in Tajikistan, it was mentioned that a visit to Tajikistan might be in the plans of His Excellency Butrus Ghali, the UN secretary General. Will you tell us please whether his plans have changed? If his plans have not changed then when approximately will this visit place? Many thanks.

[Rakhmanov] I shall answer your second question first. I mentioned this in my opening statement and I want to repeat it. I clearly stated that I invited Butrus-Ghali and that he accepted our invitation. The visit will be arranged through diplomatic channels. As soon as he has free time we shall be informed about his visit.

As to your first question, three out of five issues that were discussed at the joint meeting of the heads of states and governments on 24 September pertained to Tajikistan. Three issues on Tajikistan were adopted [as heard] unanimously right after the discussion of the first issue, on signing an economic union. This is not only my opinion, but it is an opinion of all heads of states and governments, unless I am mistaken it is an opinion of nearly all the peoples of these states unambiguously to support an economic union. You know that it is not only in our republic that production is being decreased, not only in our republic that living standards are falling. It is happening in all the CIS countries. It was clearly stated that in order to make this mechanism work in addition to this, more than 32 documents will be signed in Ashgabat in November. If the place of the meeting is not changed—it depends on the common consent of the heads of state. [words indistinct] [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent, in Russian] During the visit of Strobe Talbott to Tajikistan, he said during a

news conference that an issue pertaining to granting credit to Tajikistan by the U.S. Government had not yet been resolved. Has there been any change toward the U.S. Government's granting Tajikistan a long-term credit, since you had a meeting with Clinton? Perhaps something cropped up there? That is my first question. The second question: What kind of additional measures will be taken in order to repatriate compatriots who are abroad?

[Rakhmanov] [passage omitted] We have prepared a draft trilateral agreement on this issue—between Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the UNHCR, which will be signed during Afghan President Rabbani's visit and will then be implemented. A working group on the part of Afghanistan [as heard] is working in close contact with the border provinces of Afghanistan. Every day, via the Sherkhan port, our compatriots are returning to us. We are thinking not only about those refugees who are in Afghanistan, we also think about those refugees who are in the CIS countries and in other Islamic states. That is why we began our work also in Moscow, and I think that during our visits to Saudi Arabia and Iran in November we shall continue the discussion on this issue.

[Unidentified correspondent, in Russian] Imamali Sharipovich, (?I have met) the leaders of the opposition, who have stated that the decisive [word indistinct] in confrontation between the different groups of the population of Tajikistan is the support of Russia. Do you explain aggravation of the situation on the Tajik-Afghan border because of those events which are taking place now in Moscow?

[Rakhmanov] No. The situation is calmer on the border than ever.

[Correspondent of GOLOS UKRAINY, in Russian] [Name indistinct], GOLOS UKRAINY, the publication of the parliament of Ukraine, and ROSSIYA weekly. Will you tell us please: Was the issue of the state of dialogue between the opposition and the present Government of Tajikistan discussed directly or indirectly in the course of your meetings in Moscow or in New York? How do you estimate the state of this dialogue? Are you intending to take any steps in the near future? With whom specifically is such a kind of dialogue possible?

[Rakhmanov, in Russian] This issue was not touched upon at all in Moscow or New York. Our intention [words indistinct]. It is seen by people with whom to hold negotiations. [words indistinct] But we shall try, as I have mentioned. The work is being carried on in all directions, where they are located. I would like to say that more than half of these people have realized that there is a difference of opinion among them and there is also a difference of opinion between these former leaders of the so-called former opposition. I repeat again that time will tell. [passage omitted]

[Unidentified correspondent, in Persian] My next questions is on your speech at the United Nations. You described the opposition as extremists and refrained

from calling them Islamic fundamentalists. I would like to know whether there is any possibility of negotiations between your government and the opposition; and whether you have had talks in this regard with the U.S. president or with other U.S. officials.

[Rakhmanov] I answered your question in my previous response in Russian. I would like to say once again that in New York [words indistinct]. In meetings with UN Secretary General Butrus-Ghali, with leaders of a number of international organizations as well as with President Clinton, this subject was not touched upon either by us or by them. In my opinion this is an internal matter for Tajikistan and a matter for the government. [passages omitted, including indistinct passages]

[Shukrullo Mukhtorov of Tajik Radio] Shukrullo Mukhtorov, Tajik External Radio. In your speech at the 48th session of the UN General Assembly you told the world community about the situation along the Tajik-Afghan border. President Islam Karimov of the Republic of Uzbekistan also put forward specific proposals to stabilize the situation on this border. I would like to ask you to tell us if the United Nations has adopted any decisions on this matter and if a decision is adopted how it can be implemented? My second question is that several moments ago you said that you met with the minister of foreign affairs of Afghanistan. I would like to ask you what the reason was for the delay in a visit by the president of Afghanistan to Tajikistan and when this visit will take place?

[Rakhmanov] As far as your first question is concerned [words indistinct] the president of the fraternal Republic of Uzbekistan spent seven or eight minutes of his speech on the issue of the border and on the situation in

Tajikistan. For this we express our gratitude and thank him. However, the issue of the border—when we were in the city of Kabul we raised this issue with Borhanoddin Rabbani. Also in New York before delivering my speech I had a meeting with the president of the 48th session of the UN General Assembly. [passage indistinct] As to your second question, as to why a visit by the Afghan president to Tajikistan has not taken place. This is not true. Preparations are continuing. For a visit to take place, it should bear results. So far we have prepared the drafts of five documents; a working delegation from the Islamic State of Afghanistan will pay a visit to our city of Dushanbe on 7-8 October. Together we will study and prepare all these documents. I can say with full confidence that maybe in late October or in early November this visit will take place.

Equipment Shortage Forces Papers To Publish Weekly

LD0610181993 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1530 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Tajikistan is today experiencing a serious information famine. The republican newspapers are now being published once a week. This is explained by an acute shortage of bio-metallic offset plates which are usually supplied to the republic by the Zaraysk metal works [in Moscow oblast]. The prices for such plates have risen many hundredfold and mutual settlements between the CIS countries are virtually not taking place now, a KHOVAR correspondent notes.

Moreover, because of the lack of fuel, transportation has been paralyzed in the republic, so that the newspapers on the whole are only reaching the news stands in Dushanbe.

Armenia

Defense Ministry Says Cease-Fire Extended to 5 Nov

NC0610171193 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The Armenian Ministry of Defense Information Service disclosed that the situation on Armenia's border was relatively peaceful yesterday. There were no incidents in the region last night.

Meanwhile, the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic [NKR] Foreign Ministry has informed ARMENPRESS that the NKR and Azerbaijan have reached a new cease-fire agreement. It will expire on 5 November.

It will be recalled that the cease-fire agreement that had been reached between the two sides earlier expired yesterday. The NKR Defense Headquarters has disclosed that the two sides are observing the agreement. For example, no incidents occurred on NKR's front lines on 5 October.

Foreign Minister Says Karabakh Solution Close

NC0610155093 Yerevan SNARK in English 1259 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, October 6 (SNARK)—“Today we are rather close to the solution of Karabakh problem” Vahan Papazyan, the Armenian foreign minister, said. On his speech by Armenian TV, he said that there are two plans of the conflict settlement, one of CSCE and the other, suggested by Russia. The thing is to draw them together. “It is hard, but possible” he said. Speaking on the some disagreements between Karabakh and Armenian guidance [leadership] in approaches of the solution, he mentioned “I would like the authorities of Karabakh [to] fill the responsibility both for fortune of Karabakh people and for fortune of people of Armenia. Concerning the difficulties in the process of settlement, Papazyan said “we know that some of our decisions will be adopted [seen] in Armenia diversely, especially by the opposition. But we'll do it because of the main thing for us is the peace.” The minister didn't say what decisions he had said about.

Parliament Refuses To Dissolve Itself

MK0610154993 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Armen Khababyan report under the “Armenia” rubric: “Parliament in a Deadlock. It Is Being Forced To Dissolve Itself”]

[Text] The ongoing regular session of the Armenian Supreme Soviet is expected to proceed in a strained manner since the parliamentarians are to consider at least three drafts of the new constitution presented by the president, a bloc of seven opposition parties, and the Communist Party, and to discuss procedures for

adopting the new Fundamental Law. At the same time, it was clear that, in the existing legislative body, disagreements between the political forces will not allow any of the sides to gain a tangible advantage over its opponents, and compromise on the main question—whether Armenia is to be a presidential or a parliamentary republic—appears to be a difficult task.

The realization of this fact forced many deputies to accept the idea that the parliament should dissolve itself, and early elections should be called next March. Nonetheless, this idea was not adopted, and then a group of presidium members raised the question of giving a no-confidence vote to the Supreme Soviet leadership, which is, in their opinion, incapable of organizing normal work. As these developments coincided with the culmination of the presidential-parliamentary standoff in Russia, many were tempted to link these two events, making the processes under way in Armenia dependent on the situation in Moscow. It seems, however, that there is no such direct interrelation, and so far one can only talk about an aspiration to redistribute power among the parliamentary groups. Without this, any attempt by the opposition to attack presidential structures is obviously doomed since the Armenian National Movement [ANM] firmly controls more than 50 votes in the Supreme Soviet and is capable today of blocking any initiatives from the opposition. In addition, half the presidium members, as well as its chairman and first deputy chairman, are also ANM members. This is why the opposition has apparently decided to first shake the movement's positions in the Supreme Soviet leadership and then start to sway to their side the independent and vacillating deputies, whose number is considerable.

However, the likelihood of this happening is fairly small. The ANM faction has already assessed the attempt to hold fresh elections of the presidium as an intention to destabilize the situation. For his part, Supreme Soviet Chairman Babken Araktsyan believes that the duty of the present parliament is not to dissolve itself and not to hold various new elections, but to prepare the legislative groundwork for the activity of the future National Assembly. Only after this can one talk about new elections. And the most important thing is that the opposition can yet demonstrate a certain unity in discussing the foundations of the new constitution, though it is very doubtful that this unity will be preserved on the question of electing a new parliament leadership. Moreover, the communist faction took a very cautious attitude on the possibility of early elections. The communists apparently understand that in the new parliament they will hardly win as many seats and they have now.

President Congratulates Aliyev on Election as President

NC0610222093 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan sent a congratulatory cable today to Geydar Aliyev on his being elected the president of Azerbaijan.

President Phones Georgia's Shevardnadze

NC0610155893 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1442 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Oct (ARMENPRES)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan had a telephone conversation with Eduard Shevardnadze, chairman of the Georgian Supreme Council, yesterday during which they discussed the situation in Georgia and matters pertaining to the normal operation of the transportation routes.

Hostile Azeris Blamed for Hostage Release Failure

NC0610184493 Yerevan Radio Yerevan in Azeri 1430 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] A state of peace and security has been created in the confrontation areas as a result of the talks that have been held between Azerbaijan and the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic, the two main sides to the dispute in the region. There have been no serious exchanges of fire or clashes. Nevertheless, a tense atmosphere has prevailed in various areas from time to time.

Regrettably, provocative activities continue to take place. The reports we have received say that Azerbaijan's military units have intensified their activities close to the liberated areas during the past few days. Two servicemen were taken hostage in a VAZ vehicle in Gorisskiy Rayon three days ago. Azerbaijani officials were contacted by field radio after the incident and it was established that the hostages had been taken to Zangelanskiy Rayon. An agreement was reached between the two sides with great difficulty for the exchange of the hostages. However, the agreement to have them released on the border of Agarak in Kapanskiy Rayon was not realized on 4 October. Azerbaijan's military units unexpectedly fired on the Armenian delegation which arrived in the area to hold peaceful talks.

Regrettably, that was not the first time Azerbaijan has behaved in that way. Shortly after talks between an Armenian delegation and Azerbaijani officials on the border between Megrinskiy and Zangelanskiy Rayons some time ago, Azerbaijani military units fired on the Armenian delegation. Two of the guards who were escorting the delegation were seriously wounded. The Azerbaijani side either behaves that way or fails to attend the talks on time. It is impossible to explain that state of affairs. It can only be described as a treacherous approach.

Considering the international effort that is being made to normalize the situation in the confrontation areas and restore relations between the two republics, Azerbaijan's provocative activities have unveiled its true intentions. It has become clear that certain forces in that republic are obstructing efforts to stabilize the situation. In fact, they are using every opportunity to worsen the situation. In view of that, a struggle must be waged against them.

We are confident that the new leaders in the neighboring republic are capable of doing that.

President Decrees Minimum Wage Increase

NC0610153293 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1442 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Oct (ARMENPRES)—Armenian President Levon Ter-Petrosyan issued a decree today fixing the minimum wage level in Armenia at 7350 rubles (instead of the previous 4,200 rubles), and at 8,080 rubles in remote and border settlements as of 1 October 1993.

Pannational Movement Welcomes Yeltsin's Actions

NC0610194193 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1442 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Yerevan, 6 Oct (ARMENPRES)—The Armenian Pannational Movement [APM] issued a statement in which it is specifically said that the APM administrative board regards the events in Russia as a struggle between democracy and nationalist-communist reactionarism.

In welcoming the firm measures taken by the Russian president for the defense of democracy, the APM administrative board expressed the hope that the tragic events will be a serious lesson for all those who are trying to satisfy their longing for the past.

Azerbaijan

Aliyev's 98.8-Percent 'Landslide' Victory Detailed

NC0610144593 Baku AZERTAC in Azeri 1218 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Baku, 6 Oct (AZERTAC)—Geydar Aliyev has won a landslide victory at the presidential elections in Azerbaijan. Earlier, only a few people doubted his victory.

Some 3,919,923 out of 3,966,327 voters taking part in the elections, or 98.8 percent of them, voted for the chairman of the Azerbaijan Parliament, who is also exercising the powers of Azerbaijani president.

Some 4,620,000 eligible voters were included on the electoral lists.

Some 40,298 people voted against Geydar Aliyev.

This information was received from the Central Election Council.

Commission Declares Aliyev Winner

NC0710080393 Baku TURAN in English 0645 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] Baku, October 7 (TURAN)—A sitting of the Central Electoral Commission, at which the final results

of October 3 out of turn presidential election in Azerbaijan were declared, took place in Baku. The chairman of the CEC Jafar Veliyev [name as received] reported that 98.8 of electors voted for Geydar Aliyev, 0.5 of electors voted for Kerrar Abilov. Totally 97.6 of 4 million electors took part in the election.

J. Veliyev said that in accordance with the results of the election Chairman of Azerbaijani Parliament Geydar Aliyev elected the president of the Republic. The official ceremony of inauguration will take place in Baku in the palace of the Republic October 10.

Georgia

Night Curfew Enforced in Sukhumi

LD0610143293 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1300 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The press service of Abkhazia's Supreme Soviet reports that civilian access to Sukhumi has been temporarily restricted. The reason is that the mine-clearing operations in the town are not completed yet.

A curfew is in force in Sukhumi from 2300 to 0600 [2000 to 0300 GMT].

Zviadists Carrying Out 'Positional Battles' Near Khoni

LD0610202493 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1900 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The administrator of Khoni, Gizo Kukhalashvili, told a SAKINFORM correspondent that the units of the former president deployed along the Martvili border are carrying out positional battles. Government troops opened retaliatory fire. The administrator said that Zviad Gamsakhurdia's units would not be able to enter Khoni as the rayon was guarded safely.

The leader of the National-Democratic Party, Gia Chanturia, together with other members of the party, is currently visiting Khoni. They are guarding the safety of the population and participating in establishing order. A curfew is in force in the rayon from 2300 till 0600. Emergency headquarters headed by Gia Chanturia have been set up.

The former president's military formations have damaged the rayon greatly. The damaged communications are being restored. Everything is being done to restore power feed and water pipes. Schools will resume work in the immediate future. Tension is being removed gradually. The population is helping the state military formations. A popular army has been set up. Coordinating headquarters are functioning and everybody is on the alert.

Kobalia's Units Advance on Grigoleti Toward Lanchkhuti

LD0710093693 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 0800 GMT 7 Oct 93

[Text] Administrator of Lanchkhuti Anzor Kiladze, has told the CONTAC News Agency this morning that last night was quiet in the rayon. Illegal armed formations did not attempt an offensive. Kobalia's units are breaking through positions from time to time and then retreating. This morning they advanced well into the village of Grigoleti and intended to move toward Lanchkhuti and Ozurgeti [former Makharadze; both towns in the southwest of Georgia].

State troops control the situation. There are no combat actions under way. There is full mobilization and action from the illegal formations will not go unpunished.

Bodies of 5 Russian Soldiers Found Near Samtredia

LD0710104993 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0920 GMT 7 Oct 93

[ITAR-TASS correspondent Roman Zadunayskiy]

[Text] Moscow, 7 Oct—The bodies of five Russian servicemen of the 35th Regiment of the Group of Russian Troops in Transcaucasia were discovered today near the town of Samtredia (Western Georgia). According to the investigation's initial information, two days ago during redeployment of the regiment from Kutaisi to Batumi, one of the vehicles fell behind the column. There were seven Russian servicemen inside it. So far the details of the tragedy are unknown but military lawyers have grounds for suspecting that the vehicle was captured by an armed formation of Zviadists [Gamsakhurdia supporters], who shot the five Russian servicemen. The fate of the remaining two is unknown.

Military investigators and representatives of the army command have left for the site of the incident and criminal proceedings have been instituted. An investigation is underway. The names and ranks of the dead are not yet known.

Georgian Air Force Commander Killed in Abkhazia

AU0710110993 Tbilisi SAKARTVELOS RESPUBLIKA in Georgian 28 Sep 93 p 3

[Obituary signed by head of state Eduard Shevardnadze, Prime Minister Otar Patsatsia, Parliamentary Speaker V. Gogvadze, Defense Minister Giorgi Qarqarishvili, and others: "Izan Tsertsvadze"]

[Excerpts] The Georgian Armed Forces have suffered a great loss. Colonel Izan Mikheil dze Tsertsvadze, first deputy commander of the Air Force and Air Defense died heroically while fulfilling his service duties in Abkhazia.

[passage omitted]

From 1992 until the day of his death, he had been in command of the Georgian Air Force.

[passage omitted]

Since 1992, he had been in charge of the air force's combat operations in Abkhazia and had personally performed combat missions.

[passage omitted]

Gamsakhurdia Allegedly Coordinates With Abkhazians

MK0610145993 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 4

[Mikhail Dzhindzhikhashvili report: "Situation in Georgia. Gamsakhurdia's Loyalists Coordinated Their Actions With Abkhaz Leaders"]

[Text] The standoff between the government troops and forces loyal to Former President Zviad Gamsakhurdia continues with mixed results. After the Zviadists seized the crucial port of Poti last weekend and launched an assault on Samtredia, the largest railway hub in western Georgia, on Monday evening the government forces dealt a counter strike by seizing the city of Khoni. Meanwhile, reports have emerged in the past few days confirming close ties of Gamsakhurdia's loyalists not only with the leaders in Gudauta, but also with certain circles in Moscow.

It is increasingly believed in Georgia that Gamsakhurdia's loyalists did not expect the government troops to recuperate so quickly after the defeat in Abkhazia. It is well known that the former president and his allies managed to disarm some government units retreating from Abkhazia and seized several pieces of heavy military equipment. This is why a part of the government troops from Ochamchira District was forced to retreat across mountain passes toward Svanetia. They managed to reach Kutaisi and Samtredia having passed Svanetia on foot, which is what made it possible to halt the Zviadists' attacks.

Meanwhile, on 4 October Georgian television carried a recorded telephone conversation making it clear that a number of Gamsakhurdia's loyalists had close contacts with both the Abkhazian leadership in Gudauta and certain people in Moscow. In this conversation, a representative of the Zviadists expressed his dissatisfaction with the fact that despite earlier agreements, 'Mhedrioni' Leader Dzhaba Ioseliani and Georgian Defense Minister Georgiy Karkarashvili were not killed during attacks on Sukhumi. The interlocutor from Zugdidi was also displeased with the breach of the agreement whereby the Abkhazian formations were not allowed to take Gal District. In response, he was reassured that promptly stopping the fighters was simply impossible. In addition, according to reports from the Georgian side, a group of

Abkhazian gunmen from Ochamchira District have come to Zugdidi to back Gamsakhurdia.

In Tbilisi, the Zviadists' ties with President Yeltsin's opponents in Moscow are also seen as having been proved. Local observers note that the advance of reactionary forces in Georgia and in Russia comes almost simultaneously for a second time in a row: in August 1991 Zviad Gamsakhurdia and the Abkhazian leadership gave their backing to the actions of the State of Emergency Committee, and the current offensive by the Zviadist troops effectively coincided with the recent events in Moscow. At the same time, Eduard Shevardnadze, despite the harsh tone of his recent statements about Russia's support for the Abkhaz separatists, stood squarely behind President Yeltsin's efforts to stabilize the situation in the Russian capital.

Government Official Thanks Ukraine for Help in Defense

LD0610142593 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian 1157 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Kiev, 6 Oct—Jaba Ioseliani, chairman of the provisional committee for the state of emergency of the Republic of Georgia attached to Georgia's government, has sent a letter addressed to the president of Ukraine and the Supreme Council, in which he expressed thanks to the people of Ukraine and to the mothers and fathers of the fighters of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense Forces, who are taking part in defending the territorial integrity and independence of Georgia. Citizens of Ukraine, the fighters of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense Forces, says the letter, came to the aid of the Georgian people several months ago, which was of great importance for the moral and political condition under these difficult circumstances for Georgia. The courage, bravery, and military skill of the Ukrainian National Self-Defense fighters and their discipline have found infinite respect and trust in the people of Ukraine throughout all of Georgia.

Ardzinba Seeks Negotiations With Shevardnadze

LD0610182093 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] It has emerged from reliable sources that the leader of the Abkhaz separatists, Vladislav Ardzinba, offered to hold negotiations with Eduard Shevardnadze, head of the Georgian state. This step from Ardzinba has been caused most likely, by the defeat of the Russian reactionary forces, and the arrest of the leaders of the armed coup who constituted a major support for the Abkhaz separatists.

Shevardnadze Decrees Creation of Genocide Commission

LD0610191693 Tbilisi CONTACT INFORMATION AGENCY in Russian 1700 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Following the decree by the head of the Georgian state, Eduard Shevardnadze, a commission has been set up whose job it is to disclose the instances of genocide and ethnic cleansing of the Georgian population in Abkhazia, and prepare material for the international tribunal.

The commission is to work out regulations and submit it for approval in the immediate future, create a group of experts of famous Georgian and foreign specialists at the commission, and notify the United Nations and other intergovernmental and nongovernmental international organizations about the creation of the commission.

Shevardnadze Asks UN To Help Evacuate Svanetian Refugees

LD0610203293 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1851 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Boris Sitnikov]

[Text] United Nations October 6 TASS—Georgia appeals to proclaim Svanetia (an isolated mountain region in the western part of Georgia) a disaster zone and calls for international help to evacuate refugees who fled there from Abkhazia. Georgian leader Eduard Shevardnadze's message was presented to the United Nations headquarters on Wednesday.

The situation in Svanetia is truly catastrophic. Scores of people have already died. Food and fuel cannot reach the area. Refugees are dying from cold and hunger.

According to Shevardnadze the only way to evacuate people is to transport them by helicopters.

Adzhar Chief Says Adzharia To Remain Georgian

MK0610155793 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 3

[Report by Tengiz Pachkoriya on interview with Adzhar Supreme Soviet Chairman Aslan Abashidze to SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA; place and date not given: "Adzharia Will Always Be Part of Georgia." Aslan Abashidze Intent on Taking Orders From Center"]

[Text] Yesterday, the Tbilisi-based SVOBODNAYA GRUZIYA newspaper published the text of an interview with Adzharian Supreme Soviet Chairman Aslan Abashidze. He called the defeat of the Georgian government forces in Abkhazia a national tragedy and said that Georgia "will never put up with the loss of Abkhazia."

Abashidze said that since last October, Adzharia has received nearly 6,000 refugees. Since hostilities broke out in Abkhazia, Adzharia has sent there over 200 tonnes of diesel fuel, 100 tonnes of gasoline, 160 tonnes of flour,

other food stuffs, and medicine. From the very first days of the resumption of hostilities (on 16 September), a brigade of the Georgian Defense Ministry deployed in Adzharia was moved to Abkhazia. According to Aslan Abashidze, he suggested that he be entrusted with holding talks with Russia in Sochi "because there is trust in Adzharia, which has never wavered back and forth. There are also certain personal relations with many people." Abashidze said that on 21 September he called Eduard Shevardnadze and told him that he was going to fly to Gudauta in order to try to influence the course of events there and to halt the heightening of tensions. "I knew that our stance would influence the actions of the North Caucasus republics and requested that I be authorized to hold talks, but I did not receive any backing. However, I am ready to sit down at the negotiating table even now."

Aslan Abashidze was asked a question about the accusation against him that it was he who brought Zviad Gamsakhurdia to Zugdidi, and that he was allegedly appointed Georgian prime minister. Aslan Abashidze responded that these were rumors and that he had not met with Zviad Gamsakhurdia since 17 November 1991. "I have sent my people to Grozny three times. During the September talks in Adzharia between representatives of Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze and Zviad Gamsakhurdia I did this in order to secure the ex-president's agreement on a number of opposition issues because members of our delegation were unable to achieve this. At the same time, Mr. Gamsakhurdia was informed of my view that his return to Georgia may aggravate the situation even further," Abashidze said. As for "new appointments," Aslan Abashidze said that "Head of State Eduard Shevardnadze has very insistently offered me the post of Georgian prime minister in the past few months. He has come to me a few times in person and repeatedly called me. I did not agree."

Aslan Abashidze believes that Georgia has plunged into civil war. "But," he said, "we must not let it flare up. I think that we should meet with Zviad Gamsakhurdia and continue talks. I will repeat once again that deposing the republic's lawfully elected leaders was a mistake. However, I let Mr. Gamsakhurdia know during the work on the agreement that if that was a mistake, we must not allow a second mistake to be made. This will be a crime against Georgia."

The Adzharian Supreme Soviet chairman said that he would not seek re-election. "I am vexed when a seat is contested with the use of force. Force can bring a victory in the ring, but not in the struggle for power," he observed.

Aslan Abashidze also said that information according to which "Adzharia was peacefully slipping from under Tbilisi's control" was untrue. He expressed his resolve not to let the armed forces of any of the warring sides into Adzharia. "Otherwise, our doors are open. Any citizen of the country can freely enter Adzharia, but only without weapon: Adzharia is an integral part of

Georgia. This was, is, and will remain so. It will for ever be subordinate to the center."

Chikvaizde Satisfied With Victory of Yeltsin's Forces

LD0610210793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1946
GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Georgian Foreign Minister Alexander Chikvaizde expressed his satisfaction with the victory of democratic forces in Russia won during the events in Moscow on October 3-4.

During a meeting with Russian Ambassador to Georgia, Vladimir Zemskiy, the minister pointed out that the Georgian Government had been unanimous in its position on the events in Moscow. In his words, Georgia has backed Yeltsin and his supporters.

The minister expressed his certainty that relations between Russia and Georgia would develop along friendly and mutually beneficial lines. According to Chikvaizde, there are no more obstacles to impede this.

The dismissed Russian parliament has been repeatedly adopting unilateral, in fact, anti-Georgian resolutions and statements in regards to the conflicts in South Ossetia and Abkhazia, the Georgian foreign minister pointed out.

Russian Journalist Arrested on Espionage Charges

PM0610144193 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA
PRAVDA in Russian 6 Oct 93 p 1

[Report by KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Republics Department: "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA Correspondent Arrested in Georgia"]

[Text] On the morning of 4 October Sergey Chernykh, KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's own correspondent, was arrested on entering the Georgian parliament building. At 1630 hours Sergey's apartment was searched under regulations governed by a 1937 statute: An enemy of the people cannot count on the protection of the law.

Put more simply, the apartment was turned upside down—all the dictaphone recordings and documents were taken away. In the evening Sergey telephoned his wife Marina, the mother of a two-year-old child, and in a voice which upset

her rather than reassuring her kept repeating just four words: "I am all right. I am all right...."

Sergey is charged with engaging in intelligence activity for the Russian special services against sovereign Georgia.

Following the breakup of the USSR, the population of one-sixth of the world's dry land was divided into democrats, Communists, and KGB agents. The latter clearly predominate. The syndrome of rejection of dissidence is spreading faster than an influenza epidemic. An aircraft crashed, Sukhumi fell, the country fell apart—the journalist who wrote about this is to blame.

Sergey was always honest—to himself—in his reports. After he "shot a high-ranking CIA officer on the roads of Georgia," Sergey was drafted into the Army to defend Sukhumi. His Russian citizenship and his rank of reserve lieutenant in the Russian Federation Army saved him. But now he has been arrested....

Radio Liberty was the first to respond to the journalist's arrest. Yesterday morning Sergey's wife at last got through to the editorial office by telephone. The Russian Federation Ministry of Foreign Affairs must be given its due—it reacted promptly, and Deputy Minister Boris Pastukhov assured the editorial office that all possible measures to have Sergey released have been taken and voiced the hope that KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA's own correspondent would return home by the evening.

Sergey had his 29th birthday yesterday....

Russian Businessman Warns of Impending Famine in Abkhazia

LD0610213593 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in
Russian 1600 GMT 6 Oct 93

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Tamara Zamyatina]

[Text] Moscow, 6 Oct—Konstantin Zatulin, leader of the "Entrepreneurs for a New Russia" association, who is in Gudauta, told an ITAR-TASS correspondent by phone that a famine is beginning in Abkhazia. "There is a grave shortage of bread in Sukhumi shops, and other food-stuffs simply are not there," he said. "Because there is no fuel, industry has come to a standstill. Medical aid is being given to the inhabitants of Abkhazia by doctors from various countries, not just Russia."

In Konstantin Zatulin's opinion, even though Russia itself is living through misery now, it should not dissociate itself from the grief of the inhabitants of Abkhazia.

Estonia**Tallinn Car Bomb Injures Three**

LD0510133593 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1100 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] At 0045 on Tuesday, a bomb exploded in a Volvo 460 car parked outside number 90, St. Petersburg Road in Tallinn. Three people were injured as a result of the explosion. The injured have been taken to hospital.

Authorities Seize Illegal Russia-Bound Gun Shipment

WS0510123793 Tallinn ETA NEWS BULLETIN in English 0902 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] Tuesday, October 5—The customs service seized a container with 160 boxes of pump-action shotguns addressed to a non-existing company in Estonia. The shotguns were meant to be exported to Russia. Criminal proceedings have been started against a weapons shop in Tallinn, the central criminal police announced. The cargo documents and police permit were forged, the police spokesman explained.

Government Signs Repatriation Agreement With Russia

LD0510184393 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] An agreement between the Estonian and Russian Governments was concluded in Tallinn today on aid to individuals resettling from Estonia into Russia, and the other way round. The agreement was signed by Andres Kollist, Estonian Immigration Department's director general, and Tatyana (?Breier), head of the Russian Federation Migration Committee.

The agreement sets down favorable conditions for resettlers. They will be able to take their property with them and to dispose of the property left behind on favorable terms. The recipient country will ensure certain concessions with job placements and housing for the first resettlers. After the agreement was signed, Kollist said he was pleased that the Russian Government is acting in a stable manner at a difficult time for the country. (?Breier) rated the agreement as a constructive step which demonstrates the Estonian and Russian wish to cooperate.

Russia is considering the option of providing resettlers with a document that would run for at least three years and [words indistinct]. In 1993 about 15-20,000 (?ethnic) Russians will be leaving for Russia. In 1992, 35,000 (?Russians) emigrated [from Estonia].

Government Cancels Elections at Russian Naval Base

LD0510193493 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 5 Oct 93

[Text] The Estonian Government session today decided to abolish local elections [on 17 October] in Paldiskiy [Russian naval base] because no candidates had been registered by the closing date. A possible option discussed was to appoint a government's special representative in Paldiskiy.

The Interior Ministry was charged with the task of bringing to criminal responsibility individuals who sell publications banned in Russia, like "DEN", "PRAVDA" and "SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA." This resolution is based on 1991 interstate agreement according to which Estonia has taken upon herself an obligation to block any actions aimed against the lawful Russian authorities (?on her territory).

Meri Expresses Concern Over Russian Events

LD0610202193 Helsinki Suomen Yleisradio Network in Finnish 1900 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] Estonian President Lennart Meri is concerned about the events in Russia. In an interview he gave to this station, Meri said that all neighboring countries to Russia should be concerned about the situation in Russia. However, Meri believes that the political crisis in Russia has largely been solved and that the country will be able to arrange democratic parliamentary elections even though the party system is still undeveloped. President Meri, who supports the reform policies of President Boris Yeltsin, estimates that the political crisis in Russia is even more difficult than the crisis in the economy of the country.

Russian-Community Leaders Comment on Moscow Events

WS0710101793 Tallinn BNS in English 1444 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 06, BNS—The leaders of Estonia's Russian-speakers split in their comments on the recent events in Moscow.

For Vladimir Lebedev, a former leader of the anti-independence Interfront movement, the break came at 6 p.m. Sunday [3 October]. Before then, he said, the events were spontaneous; after that mark, everything that took place in Moscow was "a well-acted spectacle and provocation."

He accused Boris Yeltsin and his supporters of using the event to better their position in the elections scheduled for December.

The events, he said, were aimed at giving Yeltsin a free hand to fight the country's leftist and national-patriotic

opposition. Yeltsin's political opponents are united by their goal—a strong Russian state based on nationalist forces, he said.

The mistake of the anti-Yeltsin leaders was that they were unable to restrain the crowd, he said. At the same time he is convinced that, before then, Yeltsin had suffered a defeat, both in the eyes of Russia, as well as of the international public opinion.

Commenting on possible further developments, Lebedev said he saw ahead what he called total terror against the opposition and a "real witch-hunt."

Hanon Barabaner, one of the leaders of Estonia's Russian Assembly, says it's important that the resolute measures "evidently prevented the dreadful events from growing into a civil war." Both sides in the conflict made so many mistakes that there was absolutely no sense trying to find out who was more to blame, he said.

"But one of the sides showed that all the talk about the people's welfare means nothing to it," said Barabaner. "It is ready to risk the lives of many people for satisfying its own political ambitions."

Sillamae Mayor Vitali Menshikov also voiced mixed opinions on the events. "The winner always takes it all," he said. "Still one should ask if it was not namely the Yeltsin decree and his further steps that prompted the action of the supporters of the parliament." Menshikov said he was sure the problem could have been solved by other means.

The mayor admitted that Rutskoy and Khasbulatov themselves had crossed out any possibility of compromise. Yeltsin, in turn, made 150-percent use of the situation, he said. "I wish to hope that the blood shed in Moscow helped to avoid much more extensive violence."

Meri Relieves Defense Minister of 2d Ministerial Post

WS0710110393 Tallinn ETA NEWS RELEASE in English 1803 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Excerpt] Tallinn, October 6—President Lennart Meri on Wednesday relieved Defence Minister Juri Luik of his second position as minister without portfolio, the President's press office informed ETA.

Luik who was appointed Defence Minister in August was also a minister without portfolio and head of the Estonian delegation at Estonian-Russian inter-state negotiations. [passage omitted]

Reports of Russian Troop Incursion Proved False

WS0710101693 Tallinn BNS in English 1444 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 06, BNS—The General Staff of the Estonian defense forces and the Border Guard Department received information Oct. 3-4 about movement of armed groups in Russia's Kingisepp region.

The source said that 300 Russian Cossack troops allegedly crossed the Estonian border, said Jyri Kork, head of the information department at the General Staff. "In later checks it was clear that the information had been spread by a drunk man in a pub and that no Cossacks had crossed the border," he said.

Officials at the Border Guard Department said that the department has continued information about movements in Russia's bordering regions.

The officials said they had received "all kinds of information" during the Moscow crisis, but confirmed that no armed group had entered Estonia.

Border guards continue work on the administrative border with Russia in a state of heightened readiness.

Government Requests Sweden Extradite Rebel Commander

LD0610135093 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] The Estonian Foreign Ministry began talks on Monday with Swedish authorities for the extradition of Jaak Mosin, deputy commander of Laanemaa voluntary light infantry company [who was sued for his role in the July insurrection]. A Swedish Foreign Ministry consular (?official) has arrived in Estonia in connection with this. A request for Mosin's extradition was made to the Foreign Ministry by the police department's central investigation bureau on 1 October.

Mosin requested political asylum from Swedish authorities on 29 September stating that he feared Russian mafia [words indistinct] in Tallinn remand prison. Mosin requested asylum temporarily, until his security in Estonia is guaranteed.

Ain Seppik, director general of the police department's central investigation bureau does not see any justification for Mosin's request for asylum. Even though Mosin had signed a statement that he would not leave his place of residence there is no criminal procedure to punish him for failing to do this. According to Ain Seppik one cannot help but choose a harder option, which is to place him in the remand prison. This has been reported by Baltic News Service.

Parliamentarian: Kiev Opposes Baltics' Joining NATO

WS0710110293 Tallinn BNS in English 1718 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Excerpts] TALLINN, Oct 06, BNS—The Ukraine doesn't quite support the intentions of the former Warsaw pact countries and the Baltics to become NATO members, the head of the Estonian parliamentary foreign affairs commission said after returning from Kiev.

Vello Saatpalu, who visited the Ukrainian capital for a series of meetings with the country's parliamentarians,

said in a press conference in Tallinn today that the Ukraine's plans included establishing a new security league between the former Socialist countries of Eastern Europe. According to Saatpalu, the Ukraine tends to be opposed to the integration of other former East bloc countries with NATO for the fear of "being left alone". [passage omitted]

Saatpalu at today's press conference said he wouldn't claim, speaking of the Ukrainian parliament, that the country now is a political ally to be counted on for Estonia.

Prime Minister Mart Laar, after a visit by an Ukrainian government delegation to Tallinn in August, mentioned that Estonia could consider the country its ally.

'First High-Level Contacts' With Arab Businessmen Held

*WS0710105493 Tallinn BNS in English 1923 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[Text] TALLINN, Oct 06, BNS—Estonian Economics Minister Toomas Sildmae and the ministry's Vice Chancellor Peeter Tohver met a group of businessmen from the United Arab Emirates in Tallinn today.

The guests were interested in investment opportunities in Estonia and in establishing trade contacts, a spokesman at the ministry said. Special reference at the talks was made to the Estonian rubber industry and sea ports.

The business leaders also had a meeting with the director general of Estonian Air, Anti Oidsalu, to discuss the viability of opening direct air connections.

Today's meetings marked the first high-level contacts between Estonian and Arab business circles.

The Arab businessmen said their trip was prompted by a recent positive coverage of reforms in Estonia in the Newsweek magazine.

Latvia

Ulmanis Convenes Defense Council; Northwestern Group Quiet

*LD0410134993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1200 GMT 4 Oct 93*

[Text] In connection with the events in Moscow Latvian President Guntis Ulmanis today convened a session of the Defense Council. Issues concerning possibilities for our state's defense were discussed there.

Information has been received from the leadership of the Northwestern Group of Forces of the Russian Army that all is quiet in the units of this group of forces. The leadership of the group has once again made clear that it is loyal to Boris Yeltsin, the legally elected Russian president.

Ulmanis has decided to meet members of the Defense Council again this evening to sum up the information which has been received through diplomatic channels from Moscow.

Coup Reportedly Planned If Moscow Rebels Successful

*WS0610125793 Riga LETA in English 1115 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[From the "Press Review"]

[Text] Riga, 6 October (LETA)—According to the daily "DIENA," the coup was also planned in Latvia. At the Latvian Defense Ministry a journalist from "DIENA" found out that pro-communist organizations in Latvia, such as Union of Latvia's Communists lead by Igor [name indistinct], Union for Protection of Veterans Rights lead by Albert Lybedev and Association for Russian Citizens headed by Oleg Kapranov, during the Moscow rebellion on October 3 and 4 waited for its outcome and hoped for the victory of conservative legislators and their supporters.

Those who prepared the coup in Riga, met at the current headquarters of the given organizations, and the plotters used their home telephones for communications. It is possible that several representatives of those organizations were in Moscow at the time.

A Defense Ministry official Auseklis Plavins, who heads the Information Department, thought that the plan of Moscow coup was prepared by notorious Viktors Alksnis, a retired former colonel of the Soviet Army, with the help of Arnolds Klauzens, Vitaly Sobolev and other former Latvian Communist Party senior officials, as well as the former Soviet Latvia KGB agents employed by the intelligence service of the Russian Army deployed in Latvia.

The coup in Latvia was to be executed by the former Riga and Dnestre anti-riot police troops known as Omon. It was planned that they would arrive in Latvia on October 4 disguised in the uniforms of the Latvian traffic police and take several deputies of Latvian parliament hostage in order to exchange them for imprisoned first secretary of the Latvian Communist Party, Alfred Rubiks, who then would take the lead of the events. At present Rubiks is undergoing a trial for participation in the putsch in August 1991.

Government Bans Procommunist Organizations

*LD0510215993 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
2100 GMT 5 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] We start with the Cabinet of Ministers session, at which it was finally decided to curtail the activities of several pro-Communist organizations. In Latvia there are still those such as the Latvian Communist Association, the Association for the Defense of Veterans' Rights, and the Russian Association of Latvia. The Ministries of

Internal Affairs and Defense of Latvia will in future be responsible for seeing to it that these organizations do not exist in Latvia. [passage omitted]

Minister on Banning Groups

LD0610201793 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian
1800 GMT 6 Oct 93

[Text] On Tuesday the government resolved to take measures to curtail the activities of the Union of Latvian Communists, the Association for the Protection of Veterans Rights, and the Association of Russian Inhabitants in Latvia. How this resolution will be implemented was disclosed today by Internal Affairs Minister Girts Kristovskis:

[Begin Kristovskis recording] This morning I commissioned the relevant services to work out a plan. As I say, at the moment we have at our disposal the practical measures to enable us to find out whether there are any attempts on the part of these organizations to assemble, carry out measures—that is, since the coup events in Moscow. It must be said that these organizations were not registered with the Latvian Ministry of Justice, and thereby they have in fact all the time been antistate. Well, perhaps partly on account of the indecisiveness of previous policy in our country, and perhaps also for understandable reasons, measures were not taken, or no account was taken of how dangerous the activity of these organizations was before the coup, so that their activities could be prohibited or hindered in some other way. [end recording]

Leftists Concerned Over Move

WS0710105893 Tallinn BNS in English 1923 GMT
6 Oct 93

[Text] RIGA, Oct 06, BNS—The Latvian leftist Equality of Rights faction voiced concern Wednesday over the government move to outlaw several leftist organizations and allegations by an anonymous defense speaker in the Daily Diena newspaper.

There is not a single political force in Latvia capable of upsetting the state power here under the influence of the recent events in Moscow, faction head Filip Stroganov told reporters Wednesday.

Stroganov complained that Latvian officials expressed their point on the Moscow situation only after the end of the standoff and described the government policy against the leftist structures as an evident "witch hunting."

His statements evidently came in response to an information published in the daily Diena newspaper Wednesday. Citing an anonymous defense officer, the Latvian Communists Union, the Union for the Protection of Veterans Rights and the Latvia's Association of Russian Citizens plotted to overthrow the government in Latvia.

The Latvian government officially ruled to ban the above three leftist organizations Tuesday.

The organizations are closely linked with the Equality of Rights parliament faction that includes several of their members, said the faction advisor Tatyana Zdanok.

Zdanok denied that the Equality of Rights staged rallies in support of presently tried former communist leader Alfreds Rubiks but conceded that among the demonstrators "could be two or three members of our movement."

Lithuania

Foreign Ministry Statement Supports Yeltsin

LD0410160893 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1200 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] A statement by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Lithuania.

News about armed clashes in the streets of Moscow instigated by the former Russian parliament and its supporters were received in Lithuania with great concern.

The Lithuanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs offers its condolences to the families and relatives of the victims who perished during the disturbances in Moscow and confirms once again that Lithuania has supported and continues to support the efforts made by Boris Yeltsin, the democratically elected president of Russia, to reform the structures of power in Russia and to aspire for changes in social life and the economy.

The developments during the last few days showed that the hopes of all the world to see Russia among the democratic states do not meet the interests of some Russian politicians. We denounce them for starting the bloodshed and believe that the revenge-seeking forces will fail to provoke a civil war in Russia.

Government Stepping Up Border, Embassy Security

LD0410205593 Vilnius Radio Vilnius in English 1900 GMT 4 Oct 93

[Text] In an interview broadcast on the national television, the Lithuanian minister of foreign affairs, Povilas Gilys, said that Lithuania was taking various measures related to the consolidation of the protection of the Lithuanian borders and for migration of citizens. According to the minister, connection with the Lithuanian Embassy in Moscow is being kept up continuously. So far, there is no talk of evacuation of the staff of the embassy. The Lithuanian foreign minister, Povilas Gilys, considered that the situation is relatively stable and there is no direct threat to the embassy. The Lithuanian Embassy is situated quite near the White House in Moscow. The staff of the embassy who do not live in the compound were advised to stay away from work on Monday. Security measures have been tightened to ensure the security of the Lithuanian Embassy.

President Reports on U.S. Trip, Postpones Moscow Visit*WS0610134993 Tallinn BNS in English 1050 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[Excerpts] VILNIUS, Oct 06, BNS—Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas met with state leaders Tuesday [5 October] to discuss the results of his visit to the United States.

The group included Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, Foreign Minister Povilas Gylys and Industry and Trade Minister Kazimieras Klimasauskas.

The meeting focused on proposals made during the president's meetings with state leaders, foreign ministers and Lithuanian emigres, said Justas Paleckis, presidential foreign policy adviser.

The group also discussed the Polish foreign minister's proposal to accelerate the preparation of a Lithuanian-Polish agreement on friendship and cooperation.

In regard to the possibility of a visa exemption, discussed with the German foreign minister, the adviser said the matter should be cleared in two weeks when the German president visits Lithuania. [passage omitted]

His scheduled visit to Moscow was been postponed once again. Paleckis said a new date is likely to be coordinated within two weeks.

Party Criticizes Vilnius' Handling of Moscow Crisis*WS0610134693 Tallinn BNS in English 1908 GMT
5 Oct 93*

[Text] VILNIUS, Oct 05, BNS—The social democratic faction of the Lithuanian parliament is unsatisfied with actions of Lithuanian institutions during the crisis in Moscow Oct. 4.

Social democrat Vytenis Andriukaitis told reporters Tuesday that at least the State Defense Council was supposed to hold its meeting that night. However neither the council nor the leadership of the parliament, the government, the National Security Service, the Ministry of Defense and the Foreign Ministry held any meetings, Andriukaitis noted. The party in power and all state institutions should draw the necessary conclusions, he added.

MP Nikolajus Medvedevas, member of the parliamentary National Security Committee, said he and two other committee members were unable to obtain any information about the situation in the Kaliningrad region. Medvedevas says it was necessary to know how Lithuania should act if an attempt to transfer troops from the region to Russia would be made, and how would Belarus react.

Medvedevas said he telephoned the Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of the Interior that night, however he did not say whether he got any answers about the situation in Lithuania.

LDDP Official Denies Mishandling*WS0710105693 Tallinn BNS in English 1923 GMT
6 Oct 93*

[Excerpt] VILNIUS, Oct 06, BNS—Justinas Karosas, chairman of the ruling Lithuanian Democratic Labor Party [LDDP] faction, denied accusations that state institutions were not prepared for possible emergency situations during the crisis in Moscow Oct. 4.

At a press conference Wednesday, Karosas said that special headquarters were set up in the Ministry of the Interior and functioned all night. He added that information from both Russia and Lithuania was available to the president and the prime minister. "State institutions functioned properly and everything necessary was done." [passage omitted]

Head of Kaliningrad Administration Visits*LD0610121693 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in
Lithuanian 1000 GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Text] The head of the Karaliaucius [Kaliningrad] region administration, Yuriy Matochkin, arrived on a working visit in Lithuania today. A meeting between Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius and Yuriy Matochkin started at 1000 hours in the government palace. They discussed problems of interest to the republic of Lithuania and Karaliaucius region. A news conference by Adolfas Slezevicius and Yuriy Matochkin is to take place. Then the guest will meet President Algirdas Brazauskas. They will discuss pressing problems concerning Lithuania and Karaliaucius region, including transit through Lithuania to Karaliaucius, the establishment of joint enterprises in the region, possibilities of cooperation with the free economic zone in Karaliaucius, border regime, trade, and other issues.

Meets With Slezevicius*LD0610212793 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1940
GMT 6 Oct 93*

[Text] Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius on Wednesday met the head of administration of Russia's Kaliningrad Region, Yuriy Matochkin. The meeting, held in Vilnius, centered on draft agreements between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Region, and on some aspects of Lithuanian-Russian relations.

At a subsequent news briefing, Slezevicius and Matochkin said they had discussed draft agreements on trade, the transit of all forms of transport, including military, visa regulations, and air space control. They agreed to have the documents drafted by the end of the year.

Matochkin said "mutually acceptable decisions" had been made on the transit of cargoes and passengers through Lithuania and on visa regulations, issues of particular interest for Kaliningrad Region. He said "certain work" was under way on reducing armed forces stationed in the region, a matter of special concern for Lithuania. Reduction of those forces was a policy officially confirmed by the Russian Government, Matochkin said.

Slezevicius said the Russian side had agreed to grant Lithuania's request for the free passage of its diplomats across the border between Kaliningrad Region and Poland. He also said experts on both sides would look at the possibility of opening new checkpoints on the border between Lithuania and Kaliningrad Region.

Slezevicius and Matochkin also discussed the possibility of the two sides exchanging consulates and economic missions, to be opened in Vilnius and Kaliningrad. Matochkin said the final decision would be made quite soon, when a Lithuanian vice consul arrived in Kaliningrad.

The same day, Matochkin met Lithuanian President Algirdas Brazauskas, after which he left for Kaliningrad.

Entry Policy for Kaliningrad Residents To Remain

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[Text] The present procedure for entering Lithuania for residents of Kaliningrad Oblast is to remain in force until 1 January 1994. This was made known following the completion of talks in Vilnius between the leaders of Lithuania and Kaliningrad Oblast. The main topic for these talks was matters relating to the transit of freight and passengers through Lithuania in connection with the introduction of a visa entry regime in the republic from 1 November this year. ITAR-TASS is making it clear that despite the new introduction, the people of Kaliningrad will be able to visit Lithuania without any visas until the end of the year, if they have in their passports a note saying that they are permanent residents of the oblast.